The TRIAL *of the* LANCASTER WITCHES

A.D. MDCXII

Edited with an Introduction
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INTRODUCTION

THE study of witchcraft is not lightly to be undertaken. Not only is its bibliography immense, but on every important question opinions are fiercely divided, and even when the facts are admitted by both sides they can usually be interpreted or explained in different ways. Sir Thomas Browne gave evidence for the prosecution in a notorious witch trial at Bury St Edmunds in 1664; "What better evidence," says one party, "of the universality of superstition in the seventeenth century even amongst the wisest and most humane?" "What better evidence," retorts the other, "that witches were a real and terrible danger in the seventeenth century than that the author of *Vulgar Errors* could be brought to testify against them in a court of law?"

There are prime difficulties also in the use of the commonest words. 'Witch' and 'Witchcraft' denote anything from the mutterings of an old woman with a cat to the obscene rites practised by an active member of a secret society. Similarly, 'spirit' or 'devil,' which in modern English denote incorporeal or malignant beings, were used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries not only to describe the animals supposed to harbour the spirit that the witch used for her evil purposes, but also the human members of a witch fraternity.

The study of witchcraft in England is further hampered by the habit of scholars who draw from a large number of sources to make up a composite picture of the organisation and ritual of the Satanic society; and as some of these details are drawn from English witch trials, an impression is created that the full witch-cult was widely practised in England.

It has been amply shown[1] that the witch-cult flourished in France and Scotland, and the general

[1] See Miss Margaret A. Murray's *Witch-cult in Western Europe*, 1921.

details of the organisation and rites are known. Briefly, the members of the society were organised into covens. Renouncing Christianity and all its works, they took new names and acknowledged the Devil as their master. In return they were promised bliss in this world and hereafter, and power over their enemies. The covens met periodically by night in sabbats to celebrate their worship, being presided over by a human 'devil.' Witches were of both sexes, and at sabbats the males often disguised themselves as animals. The worship began with parodies of Christian ceremonial, and developed into a wild orgy of feasting, dancing, and promiscuous debauchery. The company broke up at daylight.[1]

Witches were initiated into certain secrets, including a competent knowledge of poisons, and they believed themselves to possess powers over the wills and bodies of their enemies which they exercised by spells, incantations, wax images, and other magical means. In France and in Scotland witches were drawn from all classes; but in England it is rare to find any but the poorest accused of witchcraft; the witch was usually an old woman who existed by scavenging and the charity of her neighbours.

There is little evidence that the full witch-cult was practised in England at all widely. Apart from the Lancaster case there is no known account of a witches' sabbat before 1620; nor if a flourishing society had existed is it likely to have escaped the notice of the pamphleteers. But absence of evidence does not prove that no organisation existed. There was an outbreak of witchcraft in Somerset in 1664,[2] and between 1648 and 1702 occurred the notorious witch trials of New England[3]; both the tradition and the

[1] The mental atmosphere wherein the witch-cult flourished is well portrayed in such different books as Milton's *Comus* and Mr John Buchan's novel, *Witch Wood*.

[2] Detailed in Joseph Glanvil's *Saducismus triumphatus*, 1681.

[3] See Professor G. L. Burr's *Narratives of the Witchcraft Cases*, 1914.

ceremonial had been handed down, even if rarely practised. There were, moreover, similar organisations, such as the beggars' fraternities described by Thomas Harman in his *Caveat for Common Cursetors*. It is indeed possible that the beggars themselves had some connection with the witch-cult. The 'upright-man' enjoyed the same privileges over the 'doxies' and other female wanderers as the master devil in a coven or witch fraternity. Manningham in his Diary noted, "About three yeares since there were certayne rogues in Barkeshire which usually frequented certain shipcoates every night. A justice having intelligence of their rablement, purposing to apprehend them, went strong, and about midnight found them in the shipcoate, some six couple men and women dauncing naked, the rest lying by them; divers of them taken and comitted to prison."[1] This has the appearance of being part of a sabbat. The mysterious stranger who either gives the witch her spirit or demands her soul behaves much like the upright-man described by Harman; indeed, Mother Samuel, the Warboys witch, said that her 'spirit' was given her by an upright-man. In general, however, the witch in Shakespeare's England was regarded rather as a dangerous individual with certain supernatural powers than as the member of a *camorra*.

In the main the authorities on witchcraft belong to one of three groups: believers who admit the evidence and, in part at least, its diabolical explanation; sceptics who deny both and regard the whole business of witchcraft as the product of hysteria and gross credulity; rationalists who accept the evidence but deny the supernatural explanation. These differences can be well illustrated in three of the most notable works in English which have appeared in modern times, Professor Wallace Notestein's *History of Witchcraft in*

[1] *The Diary of John Manningham*, 1602–1603, edited by J. Bruce, Camden Society, p. 83.

England from 1558–1718, Miss Margaret A. Murray's *Witch-cult in Western Europe*, and Mr Montagu Summers' *History of Witchcraft*. Professor Notestein's book is a valuable examination of the material available, indispensable to any study of the subject, but he is completely sceptical and avoids the more nauseating details of witchcraft. Miss Murray, as an anthropologist, accepts most of the evidence as proving the continuance of a pre-Christian fertility cult. Mr Summers holds that when every allowance has been made for fanaticism and hysteria " there remain innumerable and important cases which are not to be covered by any ordinary explanation, which fall within no normal category. As a most unprejudiced writer has well said : 'The underlying and provocative phenomena had really been present in a number of cases.' And there is no other way of accounting for these save by acknowledging the reality of Witchcraft and diabolic contracts. It must be steadily remembered that the most brilliant minds, the keenest intelligences, the most learned scholars, the noblest names, men who had heard the evidence at first hand, all firmly believed in Witchcraft." [1]

Similar differences can be seen in the attitude of English writers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Of these the most important are Reginald Scot, George Gifford, and King James of Scotland (afterwards James the First of England).

Reginald Scot published his *Discoverie of Witchcraft* in 1584. He had studied his subject carefully, and in his preface he noted no less than 214 foreign and 23 English authorities which he had consulted. Scot was a sturdy sceptic but not without his prejudices, for he was boisterously Protestant, and inclined to lump together the rites of witchcraft and the practices of the Roman Catholic Church. At the same time he had been disturbed by the methods of justice used in the St Oses case two years before. He therefore set out

[1] P. 64.

to demonstrate the fallacy of these prosecutions by exposing the frauds of witchcraft, and by an appeal to reason backed with a sense of humour. "My question," he wrote in the second of his prefatory epistles, "is not (as manie fondly suppose) whether there be witches or naie: but whether they can doo such miraculous works as are imputed vnto them." He appealed, therefore, for more careful and dispassionate sifting of the evidence before judgment should be passed, and graphically summed up the general attitude of the public towards a suspect:—

"See first whether the euidence be not friuolous, & whether the proofs brought against them be not incredible, consisting of ghesses, presumptions, & impossibilities contrarie to reason, Scripture, and nature. See also what persons complaine vpon them, whether they be not of the basest, the vnwisest, & most faithles kind of people. Also may it please you to waie what accusations and crimes they laie to their charge, namelie: She was at my house of late, she would haue had a pot of milke, she departed in a chafe bicause she had it not, she railed, she curssed, she mumbled and whispered, and finallie she said she would be euen with me: and soon after my child, my cow, my sow, or my pullet died, or was strangelie taken. Naie (if it please your Worship) I haue further proofe: I was with a wise woman, and she told me I had an ill neighbour, & that she would come to my house yer it were long, and so did she; and that she had a marke aboue hir waste, & so had she: and God forgiue me, my stomach hath gone against hir a great while. Hir mother before hir was counted a witch, she hath beene beaten and scratched by the face till bloud was drawne vpon hir, bicause she hath beene suspected, & afterwards some of these persons were said to amend. These are the certeinties that I heare in their euidences."[1]

In the third chapter of the first book, Scot gives an

[1] Prefatory Epistle to Sir Thomas Scot.

admirable summary of the sceptic's case against witchcraft. "One sort of such as are said to bee witches, are women which be commonly old, lame, bleare-eied, pale, fowle, and full of wrinkles; poore, sullen, superstitious, and papists; or such as knowe no religion: in whose drousie minds the diuell hath gotten a fine seat; so as, what mischief, mischance, calamitie, or slaughter is brought to pass, they are easilie persuaded the same is doone by themselues; imprinting in their minds an earnest and constant imagination thereof. They are leane and deformed, shewing melancholie in their faces, to the horror of all that see them. They are doting, scolds, mad, diuelish; and not much differing from them that are thought to be possessed with spirits; so firme and stedfast in their opinions, as whosoeuer shall onelie haue respect to the constancie of their words vttered, would easilie beleeue they were true indeed.

"These miserable wretches are so odious vnto all their neighbours, and so feared, as few dare offend them, or denie them anie thing they aske. Whereby they take vpon them; yea, and sometimes thinke, that they can doo such things as are beyond the abilitie of humane nature. These go from house to house, and from doore to doore for a pot full of milke, yest, drinke, pottage, or some such releefe; without the which they could hardlie liue: neither obtaining for their seruice and paines, nor by their art, nor yet at the diuels hands (with whome they are said to make a perfect and visible bargaine) either beautie, monie, promotion, welth, worship, pleasure, honor, knowledge, learning, or anie other benefit whatsoeuer.

"It falleth out many times, that neither their necessities, nor their expectation is answered or serued, in those places where they beg or borrowe; but rather their lewdnesse is by their neighbors reprooued. And further, in tract of time the witch waxeth odious and tedious to hir neighbors; and they againe are despised

and despited of hir: so as sometimes she cursseth one and sometimes another; and from that the maister of the house, his wife, children, cattell, &c. to the little pig that lieth in the stie. Thus in processe of time they haue all displeased hir, and she hath wished euill lucke vnto them all; perhaps with cursses and imprecations made in forme. Doubtlesse (at length) some of hir neighbours die, or fall sicke; or some of their children are visited with diseases that vex them strangelie: as apoplexies, epilepsies, conuulsions, hot feuers, wormes, &c. Which by ignorant parents are supposed to be the vengeance of witches. Yea and their opinions and conceits are confirmed and maintained by vnskilfull physicians: according to the common saieng; *Inscitiæ pallium maleficium & incantatio*, Witchcraft and inchauntment is the cloke of ignorance: whereas indeed euill humors, & not strange words, witches, or spirits are the causes of such diseases. Also some of their cattell perish, either by disease or mischance. Then they, vpon whom such aduersities fall, weighing the fame that goeth vpon this woman (hir words, displeasure, and cursses meeting so iustlie with their misfortune) doo not onely conceiue, but also are resolued, that all their mishaps are brought to passe by hir onely meanes.

"The witch on the other side expecting hir neighbours mischances, and seeing things sometimes come to passe according to hir wishes, cursses, and incantations (for *Bodin* himselfe confesseth, that not one aboue two in a hundred of their witchings or wishings take effect) being called before a Iustice, by due examination of the circumstances is driuen to see hir imprecations and desires, and hir neighbors harmes and losses too concurre, and as it were to take effect: and so confesseth that she (as a goddes) hath brought such things to passe. Wherein, not only she, but the accuser, and also the Iustice are fowlie deceiued and abused; as being thorough hir confession and other circumstances

persuaded (to the iniurie of Gods glorie) that she hath doone, or can doo that which is proper onelie to God himselfe."

Unfortunately for Scot's point of view, as presented to his original readers, there was one insuperable difficulty in accepting so complete a rationalisation of witchcraft; the Scriptures were against it. Witchcraft is definitely forbidden in the Old Testament: "thou shalt not suffer a witch to live."[1] The argument from Scripture was tersely summed up by King James in the first chapter of his *Dæmonologie*:—

"As first in the law of God, it is plainely prohibited: But certaine it is, that the Law of God speakes nothing in vaine, nether doth it lay curses, or injoyne punishmentes vpon shaddowes, condemning that to be il, which is not in essence or being as we call it. Secondlie it is plaine, where wicked *Pharaohs* wise-men imitated ane number of *Moses* miracles, to harden the tyrants heart there by. Thirdly, said not *Samuell* to *Saull*, that *disobedience is as the sinne of Witch-craft*? To compare to a thing that were not, it were too too absurd. Fourthlie, was not *Simon Magus*, a man of that craft? And fiftlie, what was she that had the spirit of *Python*? beside innumerable other places that were irkesom to recite."[2]

The famous instance of the witch, or pythoness, of Endor, who at Saul's bidding raised up the spirit of Samuel, was a favourite proof with the earlier experts; for if the account given in I. Samuel xxviii. is accepted, then the case for the existence of witchcraft is supported by the highest of authorities. Scot went so far as to suggest that Saul had been cozened by ventriloquism, but few were prepared to accept so materialistic an explanation: Gifford rejected it with scorn.

Scot did not confine himself to the doings of witches. He collected many examples of beliefs in magical

[1] *Exodus* ii. 18.
[2] King James, *Dæmonologie*, 1597. Bodley Head Quartos, vol. ix., p. 5.

charms and amulets; he described and explained the tricks of country jugglers. He discussed conjuration of and by spirits; and gave specimens of ecclesiastical *formulæ* of exorcism gathered from Catholic writers. The whole is enlivened by anecdotes which are robust rather than edifying.

Scot reserves his definition of witchcraft until nearly the end of the book. "Witchcraft," he concludes, "is in truth a cousening art, wherin the name of God is abused, prophaned and blasphemed, and his power attributed to a vile creature. In estimation of the vulgar people, it is a supernaturall worke, contriued betweene a corporall old woman, and a spirituall diuell. The maner thereof is so secret, mysticall, and strange, that to this daie there hath neuer beene any credible witnes therof. It is incomprehensible to the wise, learned or faithfull; a probable matter to children, fooles, melancholike persons and papists. The trade is thought to be impious. The effect and end thereof to be sometimes euill, as when thereby man or beast, grasse, trees or corne, &c; is hurt: sometimes good, as whereby sicke folkes are healed, theeues bewraied, and true men come to their goods, &c. The matter and instruments, wherewith it is accomplished, are words, charmes, signes, images, characters, &c: the which words although any other creature doo pronounce, in maner and form as they doo, leauing out no circumstance requisite or vsuall for that action: yet none is said to haue the grace or gift to performe the matter, except she be a witch, and so taken, either by hir owne consent, or by others imputation."[1]

The next English writer is George Gifford, a minister of Malden and a theologian of considerable repute, whose views are expounded in *A Discourse of the subtile Practises of Deuilles by Witches and Sorcerers*, 1587, and the more popular *Dialogue concerning Witches*, 1593 (reprinted 1603). He, too, was appalled by the super-

[1] Book xvi., chapter 2.

stitions of judges and jurymen who could condemn old women to death on the most fantastic evidence; but as a minister of religion he was compelled on Scriptural grounds to disagree with Scot's rationalism. His position is summarised in the Epistle Dedicatory to the *Discourse*:—"The sacred Scriptures both of the olde and new Testament, do speake in sundrie places of Witches, Coniurers, & Sorcerers, and that such things are in high detestation before God: but what these can do few of the vulgar sort do rightly vnderstand. For the most part do ascribe vnto them very foolishly, such power and efficacie in working, as in deed the deuill is not able to perfourme, though God should enlarge his chaine & giue him full scope to doe all that he desireth. Againe, some few are of the mind, that whatsoeuer is spoken in the holy Scriptures, or in other writers, concerning things wrought by such kinde of people, it was not done by the deuill, but was a meere craft and cosenage of the deceiptfull men and women, which haue taken vpon them such matters. That the holy scriptures haue no meaning to teach that deuils euer did anything that way. And that all other writers haue erred which maintained the same power of deuils. The opinion of these latter is grosse, and in some sort contumelious, being against the direct testimonies of Gods word. The vaine conceipt of the former, that is to say, of the multitude, which imagine that Witches can worke at their pleasure, & so are the comon plague of the earth, breedeth so innumerable sins, that it is as a monster with many heads."

Gifford defines a witch as "one that woorketh by the Deuill, or by some deuelish or curious art, either hurting or healing, reuealing thinges secrete, or foretelling things to come, which the deuil hath deuised to entangle and snare mens soules withal to damnation. The coniurer, the enchaunter, the sorcerer, the deuiner, and whatsoeuer other sort there is, are in deede compassed within this circle."

This definition of a witch is important, and may be taken as summing up popular ideas in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; it is actually quoted, without acknowledgment, in the pamphlet describing the Northamptonshire witches of 1612; Gifford, however, would certainly have denounced the verdict given in that case if no better evidence was offered to the court than is given by the pamphleteer.

Gifford compromised with sceptics and wholehearted believers; he granted that witches existed, but did not believe that they could work the effects which were attributed to them. If, as was popularly supposed, a witch could control the Devil to work her will, then it followed that the witch was more powerful than the Devil; which was obviously contrary to Scripture, for no one but God could control Satan.

Moreover, in witch trials at this time, the witch was not condemned to death for witchcraft, but for murder by witchcraft. In many instances the chief evidence was the cry of the bewitched, in the throes of possession by an evil spirit, against the witch for so tormenting him.[1] On this procedure, Gifford comments:—"It falleth out sometyme that some visitation lighteth vpon some person man or woman. Either the deuill doth torment indeed, or else the party faineth to be tormented (which hath bene often seene) and then accuseth such a woman to haue sent the deuil. It is strange to see the madnes of the people, that wil aske the deuill who sent him, and how many he hath killed. If it were the Deuill indeed, would they beleeue him? Is it not his desire to bring innocent persons into daunger? Would not hee very gladly haue a number of men periure and forsweare themselues? doth the Lord will men to goe vpon their oth in a matter, at the testimony of a deuill?" Hence when old women are unjustly condemned the Devil has won a double triumph.

Gifford expanded his views in a second book, pub-

[1] For examples see pp. xxx., 46.

lished in 1593, with the title of *A Dialogue concerning Witches and Witchcrafts*, written "in waye of a Dialogue, to make the fitter for the capacity of the simpler sort." The result is a very lively picture of village superstitions at the end of the sixteenth century.

The book opens with the meeting of Samuel and his old friend Daniel. Samuel looks pale; Daniel, after kindly inquiries, is prompted to ask whether Samuel suspects witchcraft. Samuel hopes not, but has his qualms; "In good sooth, I may tell it to you as to my friend, when I goe but into my closes, I am afraide, for I see nowe and then a Hare; which my conscience giueth me is a witch, or some witches spirite, shee starteth so vppon me. And sometime I see an vgly weasell runne through my yard, and there is a foule great catte sometimes in my Barne, which I haue no liking vnto."

Daniel having expressed some doubts, both go off to argue with the schoolmaster, who is also a confirmed believer but better read than Samuel. Daniel himself also acknowledges the existence of witches, but refuses to believe that they can have such power as the others claim for them. Accordingly he argues, step by step, to prove that the Devil is not the servant of the witches but the witches of the Devil. Moreover, if the Devil hurts men through the witches he can only do so because God allows this licence; and God, wishing to try the faith and patience of his people, uses Satan to afflict them in their bodies; but naturally Satan is unwilling to appear as God's minister and therefore makes it appear that he is sent by the witch. It is very wrong, declares Daniel, to seek the help of cunning men and wise women.

The schoolmaster is at first unwilling to concede this point, and gives some instances of their good offices; "I did know where the Communion cup was stollen: the Churchwardens rode to a wise man, he gaue them

direction what night, and where they should stand, and the party that stollen it should come thither, and confesse he had it : and certainly they had it againe." [1]

But Daniel can explain this phenomenon. "You muste note what power the deuill hath in the minde of a theefe. He stirred him vp to steale the cup. He stirred vp the Churchwardens to seeke the cunning witch. Hee nameth the place and the time, whether, and when he would moue the heart of the theefe to come : And at the time appointed hee bringeth him thither, for he that could moue him to steale, could also by secrete suggestion mooue him to goe thither." [2]

The schoolmaster's faith being somewhat shaken, his mind is opened to admit doubts. His zeal hitherto, he admits, had been to destroy all witches in order that their spirits might find no body to hire them, and if some innocent perished it was regrettable, but "much better that some should be put to death wrongfully, than to leaue any one witch, which might kill and destroy many." He is now convinced of this error.

Later in the conversation they proceed to discuss the evidence admissible to condemn a witch. Daniel refuses to allow even the dying testimony of one witch to count against another because the Devil has such powers of deluding even his own. The schoolmaster, being now somewhat bewildered, demands, "If it be thus, then how should a Iurie condemne by their verdict any witch? For she hath not killed, nor the deuill at her request, but maketh her beleeue he did it at her request?"

Daniel's reply is that a witch by the word of God ought to die the death not because she kills men, for she cannot (except by poison), but because she deals in devils. Unfortunately, as the schoolmaster retorts, the

[1] Sig. E 3.

[2] Sig. G 2. A more rationalistic account of a similar wonder is related on p. xxxix.

law does not put them to death for this offence but for murder.

Then, answers Daniel, the law should be altered. "These cunning men and women which deale with spirites and charmes seeming to doe good, and draw the people into manifold impieties, with all others which haue familiarity with deuils, or vse coniurations, ought to bee rooted out, that others might see and feare."

Soon afterwards Daniel takes his departure, leaving Samuel and the schoolmaster chastened and humble, convinced that "the deuill is too craftie for the wisest, vnlesse they haue the light of Gods word."

During this long disputation the wife of Samuel has remained silent; now she has her turn. The good wife R. appears. Mrs Samuel maliciously observes, "I would you had come a little sooner, here was one euen now that sayd you are a witch." Samuel at first denies it, but his wife observes, "Did he not say she played the witch that hette the spitte red hotte, and thrust it into her creame, when the butter would not come?" Samuel adds, "Indeede wife, thou sayest true, he said that was a thing taught by the deuill, as also the burning of an henne or of an hogge aliue, and all such deuises."

The good wife R. retorts contemptuously, "Is that witchcraft? Some Scripture man hath tolde you so? Did the deuill teach it? Nay the good woman at R. H. taught it my husband: she doeth more good in one yeare than all these scripture men will do so long as they liue."

The schoolmaster then tries to work off some of the arguments which he has just picked up from Daniel, but goodwife R. has small respect for such second-hand learning, and rapidly reduces him to silence, "What tell you me of Gods worde," she cries out, "doth not Gods word say there be witches, and doe not you thinke God doth suffer bad people? Are you a

turnecote? Fare you well, I will talke no longer with you."

And so the party disperses.

The *Dæmonologie* of King James appeared in 1597. In writing the dialogue, the King was moved by "the fearefull abounding at this time in this countrie, of these detestable slaues of the Deuill" to prove that "such assaultes of Sathan are most certainly practized, & that the instruments thereof, merits most severly to be punished." He especially condemns the "damnable opinions" of Scot for maintaining the old opinions of the Sadducees. King James divides unlawful arts into "*Magic* or *Necromancie*" and "*Sorcerie* or *Witchcraft*." "Curiositie in great ingines"[1] is the cause of the first; of the second "thirst of revenge, for some tortes deeply apprehended, or greedie appetite of geare, caused through great pouerty."

Dæmonologie is a convenient summary of the fuller belief in the witch-cult as practised in Scotland; and on this subject King James could speak with first-hand knowledge, for he had been present at the examination of the witches who had tried to murder him in 1591. The evidence then produced was detailed and alarming, and the King had received convincing proof of its genuineness. When, for instance, Agnes Sampson had made such strange confessions that the King was moved to pronounce them all to be extreme liars, she took him aside and "declared vnto him the verye woordes which passed betweene the Kings Maiestie and his Queene at Vpslo in Norway the first night of their mariage, with their answere eache to other: whereat the Kinges Maiestie wondered greatlye, and swore by the liuing God, that he beleeued that all the Diuels in hell could not haue discouered the same: acknowledging her woords to be most true, and there-

[1] Instances of great 'ingines' who pried into magic are Dr John Dee and Dr John Caius, the famous Cambridge scholar. Dr Caius' book of magic is in the British Museum (MSS. Addit. 36,674).

fore gaue the more credit to the rest which is before declared."[1]

The accounts of witchcraft given in *Dæmonologie* are therefore more than a mere scouring of continental authorities. The first book is chiefly concerned with Necromancy; the second deals with Sorcery and Witchcraft. Witches' meetings are described by Epistemon (the expert in the dialogue) thus:—"As to their consultations thereupon, they vse them oftest in the Churches, where they conveene for adoring: at what time their master enquiring at them what they would be at: euerie one of them propones vnto him, what wicked turne they would haue done, either for obteining of riches, or for reuenging them vpon anie whome they haue malice at: who granting their demande, as no doubt willinglie he wil, since it is to doe euill, he teacheth them the means, wherby they may do the same. As for little trifling turnes that women haue ado with, he causeth them to ioynt dead corpses, & to make powders thereof, mixing such other thinges there amongst, as he giues vnto them."

Philomathes interrupts to ask, "What can be the cause that there are twentie women giuen to that craft, where ther is one man?" The answer is, "The reason is easie, for as that sexe is frailer than man is, so is it easier to be intrapped in these grosse snares of the Deuill, as was ouer well proued to be true, by the Serpents deceiuing of *Eua* at the beginning, which makes him the homelier with that sexe sensine." The description is then continued.

"To some others at these times hee teacheth, how to make Pictures of waxe or clay: That by the rosting thereof, the persones that they beare the name of, may be continuallie melted or dryed awaie by continuall sicknesse. To some hee giues such stones or poulders, as will helpe to cure or cast on diseases: And to some he teacheth kindes of vncouthe poysons, which

[1] *Newes from Scotland.* Bodley Head Quartos, vol. ix., p. 15.

Mediciners vnderstandes not (for he is farre cunningner then man in the knowledge of all the occult proprieties of nature) not that anie of these meanes which hee teacheth them (except the poysons which are composed of thinges naturall) can of them selues helpe any thing to these turnes, that they are employed in, but onelie being Gods Ape, as well in that as in all other thinges."[1]

Witches, declares Epistemon, have great and terrible powers. They can make men or women to love or hate each other; they lay the sickness of one upon another—God allowed the Devil to lay sickness upon Job and he has had plenty of practice since; they bewitch and take life by the roasting of pictures; they raise storms and tempests in the air, both on land and sea—the Devil is called "Prince of the air"; they make folks frantic or maniac; they cause spirits either to follow or trouble persons, haunt certain houses and terrify the inhabitants.

Later in the book the King makes an interesting observation: "Moe Ghostes and spirites were seene, nor tongue can tell, in the time of blinde *Papistrie* in these Countries, where now by the contrarie, a man shall scarcely all his time here once of such things. And yet were these vnlawfull artes farre rarer at that time: and neuer were so much harde of, nor so rife as they are now."[2] In England, and in New England, witch cases were most frequent in those parts where Puritanism was strongest.

It is easy enough to deride the *Dæmonologie* as another illustration of the 'wisest fool in Christendom'; but it must be remembered that James was expressing views which were widely held and backed by the highest authorities, human and divine. Compared with other treatises on the subject, *Dæmonologie* is clear and concise, and written without pedantry. It was reprinted in 1603 when James ascended the English throne and is included in the fine edition of his works, published in 1616.

[1] Pp. 43–46. [2] P. 54.

Between 1566 and 1620, nearly fifty pamphlets of all kinds, connected with witchcraft, were published; of those which survive, some fourteen are accounts of actual cases of witchcraft. These pamphlets are mostly summaries of evidence or accounts carefully written by eye-witnesses of the events; and it is noticeable that the writers usually do their best to present an accurate account without any conscious attempt to exaggerate. Of these cases the most important were the Chelmsford witches in 1579; the St Oses witches in 1582; the Samuels at Warboys in 1593; Alse Gooderidge in 1597; the Lancaster witches in 1612 (reprinted in this volume); Margaret and Philip Flower in 1619. There was also the mysterious death of Ferdinando Stanley, Earl of Derby, in 1594, which is not recorded in any pamphlet but is related at length by Stow in his *Annals*.

In the Chelmsford case in 1579 the pamphlet which is entitled *A Detection of damnable driftes* records the summary of the evidence against the four accused, one of whom, Elizabeth Fraunces, late of Hatfield, confessed that about Lent last being denied yeast by the wife of one Poole, she cursed Poole's wife and bad a mischief light on her. "Whereuppon sodenly in the waie she hard a greate noise, and presently there appeared vnto her a Spirite of a white colour in seemyng like to a little rugged Dogge, standyng neare her vppon the ground, who asked her whither she went? shee aunswered for suche thinges as she wanted, and she tolde him therewith that she could gette no yeest of Pooles wife and therefore willed the same Spirite to goe to her and plague her, whiche the Spirite promised to doe, but first he bad her giue him somewhat, then she hauing in her hand a crust of white bread, did bite a peece thereof and threwe it vpon the grounde, whiche she thinketh he tooke vp and so went his waie, but before he departed from her she willed him too plague Pooles wife in the head, and since then she neuer sawe him, but she hath harde by her neighbours that the

same Pooles wife was greuously pained in her head not longe after, and remayned very sore payned still, for on saterdaie last past this Examinate talked with her."

In the case of Ellen Smith of Maldon it was declared that her son, a boy of thirteen years, having been chid from his doors by John Estwood, went home and told his mother, and within a while after Estwood was taken with a very great pain in his body, " and the same night followyng, as he satte by the fire with one of his neighbours, to their thinkyng thei did see a Ratte runne vp the Chimney, and presently it did fall doune again in the likenesse of a Tode, and takyng it vp with the tongges, thei thruste it into the fire, and so helde it in Forcesibly, it made the fire burne as blewe as Azure, and the fire was almoste out, and at the burnyng thereof the said Ellen Smithe was in greate paine and out of quiete, wherevppon dissemblyngly she came to the house of the fore saied Ihon Estwood, and asked how all that were there did, and he saied well I thanke God, and she said, I thought you had not been well, and therefore I came to see how you did, and so went her waie."

The evidence against Mother Staunton, however, is more important because it suggests that the disasters which followed in her wake were due to poison. She used to visit the house of one Thomas Prat. " She came the third tyme by his dore with Graines, and he demaunding a fewe of her, she asked what he would doe with them, I will giue them, saied he, to my Chickens, and snatchyng a handfull from her, did so. But after thei had tasted of them, three or fower dousen of them died, and onely one Chicken escaped of them all." Three children were taken very sick directly after she had been with them ; a woman was caused to swell ; cowes yielded ' gore stinking blood ' instead of good milk ; twenty pigs died. The vicar's child was taken with very vehement sickness, " the sayd Mother Staunton sittyng by and hauyng touched the childe

before it grew sicke" ; it recovered an hour after the vicar came home. Mother Staunton, however, was acquitted, as there was no evidence of manslaughter against her.

In the sensational case at St Oses in 1582 thirteen witches were alleged to have done to death between them no less than twenty-four persons, apart from cattle, and injuries inflicted on those who did not die. The descriptive pamphlet is a large collection of depositions for the most part taken before Brian Lacy, Esquire ; and from these some examples may be taken.

One of the witches accused was named Vrsley Kempe, alias Grey ; and information was taken against her from her bastard son Thomas Rabbet, a boy of eight years old. He testified that his mother " hath foure seuerall spirites, the one called *Tyffin*, the other *Tittey*, the third *Pigine*, & the fourth *Iacke* : & being asked of what colours they were, saith, that *Tyttey* is like a little Grey Cat, *Tyffin* is like a white lambe, *Pygine* is black like a Toad, and *Iacke* is black like a Cat. And hee saith, hee hath seen his mother at times to giue thē beere to drink, and of a white Lofe or Cake to eate, and saith that in the night time the said spirites will come to his mother, and sucke blood of her vpon her armes and other places of her body."[1]

Vrsley Kempe herself was brought before the magistrate and, being promised favour if she would confess, not only confirmed the boy's tale but added much more. Ten or eleven years before, she said, she " was troubled with a lamenes in her bones, and for ease thereof, went to one Cockes wife of Weley, nowe deceased, who telled this examinate, that she was bewitched, and at her entreatie taught her to vnwitch her selfe : And bad her take hogges dung and charuell, and put them together and holde them in her left hand, and to take in the other hande a knife, and to pricke the medecine three times, & then to cast

[1] Sig. A 3.

the same into the fire, and to take the said knife & to make three pricks vnder a table, and to let the knife stick there: & after that to take three leues of sage, and as much of herbe Ihon (*alias* herbe grace) and put them into ale, and drinke it last at night and first in the morning, & that shee taking the same, had ease of her lamenesse." [1] This remedy she passed on to two other women.

Moreover " without any asking of her owne free will at that present, confessed and saide, y^t^ shee was the death of her brother Kemps wife, and that she sent the spirit *Iacke* to plague her, for that her sister had called her whore and witche." And further, that upon falling out with Thurlow's wife, " shee sent *Tyffin*, the spirite vnto her childe, which lay in the Cradle, and willed the same to rocke the Cradle ouer, so as the childe might fall out thereof, and break the necke of it." [2]

In the course of her examination Elizabeth Bennet was also accused of witchcraft and was accordingly brought before Mr Lacy, who again promised that a free confession would bring favour. Elizabeth Bennet also had two spirits, Suckin, black like a dog, and Lierd, red like a lion. She acknowledged that about Lammas past, because one " William Byet had abused her, in calling her olde trot, old whore, and other lewde speaches, shee this Examinate, caused the spirite, called *Suckin*, to goe and plague the sayde Willyam Byette where that woulde: The which the sayd spyrite did, and at the retourne of it, it told this Examinate, that it met Byet in the barne yarde, and that it had plagued him in the hippes, euen vnto death." [3]

[1] Sig. A 7.

[2] Sig. A 8. The ' spirits ' of Ursley Kempe were clearly pet animals. At this time familiarities between man and beast were regarded with great suspicion. Bankes' famous performing horse, Morocco, was one of the sensations of London in the 1590's, but when Bankes was so foolish as to exhibit the horse in Rome both were burnt for witchcraft. See F. Douce, *Illustrations of Shakespeare*, i., 212.

[3] Sig. C 1.

In giving evidence against another witch, Cicely Telles, one Thomas Death declared that a child and his pigs had been bewitched; "he had presently after seuerall Swine which did skippe and leape about the yarde, in a most straunge force, and then died." [1]

Annis Herd was accused by the parson himself for doing to death his wife. His story was as follows:— "Richard Harrison Clerk, person of Beamōd, saith, that he and his late wife did dwell at little Okely in a house of his said wife, & that hee the said Richard Harrison had also the personage of Okeley in farme, and about Sommer was tweluemonth, he being at London his wife had a Ducke sitting on certaine egges vnder a Cherrie tree in a hedge, and when the saide Ducke had hatched, his said wife did suspect one Annis Herd a light womā, and a common harlot to haue stolen her duckelins, & that his said wife went vnto the said Annis Herd & rated her and all too chid her, but she could get no knowledge of her ducklins, and so came home & was very angry against the said Annis, & within a short time after, the said Richard Harrison went into a chamber, and there did reade on his bookes for the space of 2. or 3. houres bidding his said wife to goe to bed w^{t} the children, and y^{t} he would come to her, and she so did: and being awhile laid downe in her bed, his wife did crie out: Oh Lord Lorde, helpe me & keepe me, and he running to her, asked her what she ailed? and she said, Oh Lord I am sore afraid, and haue bin diuers times, but that I would not tell you, and said, I am in doubt husband, that yonder wicked harlot Annis Herd doth bewitch me, and y^{e} said Richard Harrison, said to his wife, I pray you be content and thinke not so, but trust in God and put your trust in him onely, and he will defend you from her, and from the Diuell himselfe also; and said moreouer, what will the people say, that I beeing a Preacher shoulde haue my wife so weake in faith.

[1] This also would seem to be a clear case of poisoning.

"This examinat saith, y^t within two moneths after his said wife said vnto him, I pray you as euer there was loue betweene vs, (as I hope there hath been for I haue v. pretie children by you I thanke God) seeke some remedie for me against yonder wicked beast (meaning the said Annis Herd), And if you will not I will complaine to my father, and I thinke he will see som remedie for me, for (said she) if I haue no remedie, she will vtterly consume me, whereupō this examinat did exhort his said wife as hee had before, & desired her to pray to God, and y^t he wold hang her the said Annis Herd if he could proue any such matter, and after he went to the personage, and there he saith he gathered plummes: and the said Annis Herd then came to the hedge side, and Anwicks wife with her, and said vnto him, I pray you giue me som plummes sir: and this examinat said vnto her, I am glad you are here you vield strumpet, saying, I do think you haue bewitched my wife, and as truly as God doth liue, if I can perceiue y^t she be troubled any more as she hath been, I will not leaue a whole bone about thee, & besides I will seeke to haue thee hanged: and saith, he saide vnto her that his wife would make her father priuie vnto it, and that then I warrant thee he will haue you hanged, for he will make good friends, & is a stout man of himselfe, and saith, y^t then he did rehearse diuers things to her y^t were thought she had bewitched as Geese & Hogges, & as he was comming downe out of the tree, she the said Annis did sodenly depart from him without hauing any plummes.

"This examinat saith, after which speeches so by him vsed vnto her, and before Christmas, his said wife was takē sore sick, & was at many times afraid both sleeping and waking, & did call this examinat her husbande vnto her not aboue two dayes before her death, and saide vnto him, husband, God blesse you and your children, and God send you good friends, for I must depart from you, for I am nowe vtterly

consumed with yonder wicked Creature, naming the said Annis Herd, which wordes hee saith were spoken by her in y^e^ presence of Iohn Pollin, & mother Poppe, and within two daies after his said wife departed out of this world in a perfect faith, repeating these words, Oh Annis Herd, Annis Herd she hath consumed me." [1]

Unfortunately the pamphlet does not indicate how far this story was confirmed or corroborated by impartial witnesses.

The most famous of Elizabethan witch trials was held at Huntingdon in 1593; it is recorded in great detail in a pamphlet entitled *The most strange and admirable discouerie of the three witches of Warboys*. The story begins thus:—" About the tenth of Nouember which was in the yeere 1589, Mistris *Iane* one of the daughters of the sayd Master *Throckmorton* being neere the age of tenne yeeres, fell vpon y^e^ sodaine into a strange kind of sicknes and distemperature of body, the manner whereof was as followeth. Sometimes she would neese very lowde and thicke for the space of halfe ane hower together, and presently as one in a great trance and swoune lay quietly as long: soone after she would begin to swell and heaue vp her belly so as none was able to bend her, or keepe her downe: sometime she would shake one legge and no other part of her, as if the paulsie had been in it: sometimes the other: presently she would shake one of her armes, and then the other, and soone after her head, as if she had been infected with the running paulsie: Continuing in this case two or three daies, amongst other neighbours in the towne there came into the house of Master *Throckmorton* the foresayd *Alice Samuel* to visite this sicke child, who dwelled in the next house on the Northside of the sayd Master *Throckmorton*. The childe when the old woman came into the parlour was held in another womans armes by the fire side, so she went into the chimney corner and sate downe hard by the childe, the

[1] Sig. F 2.

Grandmother of the child, & the mother being also present, she had not been there long, but the child grew something worse than she was at her comming, and on the sodaine cryed (saying) Grandmother looke where the old witch sitteth (poynting to the sayd mother *Samuel*) did you euer see (sayd the child) one more like a witch than she is? take off her blacke thrumbd cap, for I can not abide to looke on her."

As the child's sickness continued, her urine was sent to Cambridge to Dr Barrow, who could find no disease unless it was the worms; and made out an appropriate medicine. Two days later further specimens and medicines were exchanged, but still without any result. The third time of sending Dr Barrow then demanded whether there was any sorcery or witchcraft suspected. Another doctor being consulted, a similar opinion was pronounced on the urine; either it was the worms or "a very strange kind of grief."

Exactly a month afterwards, two more of the children, elder sisters to Joan, were taken in the same way and "cried out vpon Mother *Samuel*: saying, take her away, looke where she standeth here before vs in a blacke thrumbd cap, (which kind of cap indeede she did vsually weare, but she was not then present) it is she (sayd they) that hath bewitched vs, and she will kill vs if you doe not take her away."[1] A fourth sister was similarly taken, and also cried out against Mother Samuel. Later the infection spread to the women servants, who also accused Mother Samuel.

On 13th February following, Gilbert Pickering Esquire, the children's uncle, came to Warboys and caused Mother Samuel, her daughter Agnes, and one Cicely Burder to be brought to the house. The moment that Mother Samuel came into the presence of three of the children who had been quite well before they suddenly fell down strangely tormented, and "if they had been let to lie stil on the ground would

[1] Sig. A 4.

haue leaped & sprung like a quicke Pickerel newly taken out of the water, their bellies heauing vp, their head & heeles still touching the ground as though they had been tumblers,"[1] with other motions.

Shortly afterwards the Lady Cromwell, who was the children's grandmother, came to visit them, and caused Mother Samuel to be summoned in order that she might be questioned by Dr Hall, a doctor of divinity, Mother Samuel obstinately refused to submit to this examination. At length Lady Cromwell suddenly pulled off her kercher, and cut off a lock of hair which, together with the hairlace, she gave to Mistress Throckmorton to be burnt. That same night Lady Cromwell had a bad nightmare that a cat was trying to tear her to pieces, and in a brief space she fell strangely sick. She lingered for about fifteen months, during which she was obsessed with Mother Samuel's parting words, "I neuer hurt you as yet"; and then she died. A long series of confessions, denials, and examinations followed until ultimately in April 1593 Mother Samuel, her husband, and her daughter were arraigned before Justice Fenner at Huntingdon.[2] The evidence of the gentlemen was given, the confessions read, and some new witnesses called, including the jailor at Huntingdon, who deposed that one of his men, finding Mother Samuel unruly in prison, had tied her to a bed post; he was taken ill with the same symptoms as the children, and within five or six days died. All three accused were condemned to death, the husband and daughter indignantly denying the charge.

At the execution Mother Samuel made a full confession:—"First, being demaunded what the names of those spirits (wherewith shee bewitched) were called, shee sayd, they were called *Pluck*, *Catch* and *White*, the which names she often repeated. Being

[1] Sig. B 1.

[2] A fuller outline of the case than can here be given will be found in my *Elizabethan Journal*, 1591–1594, pp. 224–228.

asked whether she had bewitched the Lady *Cromwell* to death or not: She answered, that she had. Being asked with which of her spirits she did bewitch the sayd Ladie to death: She said, with *Catch*. And being demaunded for what cause she did it: She answered: For that the sayd Ladie had caused some of her haire and her haire-lace to be burned: and that she sayd, *Catch* willed her to be reuenged of the sayd Ladie: and that thereupon the sayd Mother *Samuel* bid him goe and do what he would. And being asked, what *Catch* sayd to her when he came backe againe: She confessed that he sayd, that he had been reuenged of her. Moreouer she confessed, and vpon her death did say for trueth, that she was guiltie of the death of the Ladie *Cromwell*. Being demaunded, whether she had bewitched Master *Throckmortons* children: She confessed that she had done it. Being asked with which of her Spirits: She said, that it was *Pluck*. Being asked what she said to him when she sent him about the matter: She confessed, that she willed him goe torment them, but not hurt them. Being asked, how long they should be in that case? She sayd, she could not tell: and that she did not see *Pluck* since Christmas last. Being asked what she did with *White?* She sayd, that she neuer did hurt with him: and that she had sent him to the sea, and that he had sucked vpon her chinne, but the other two had not any reward. And likewise she confessed, that she had those Spirits of one, whose name (she said) was *Langley*: where he dwelleth she knewe not."[1]

On the 16th April 1594 died Ferdinando Stanley, the young Earl of Derby, and his death was generally attributed to witchcraft. Full medical details are given

[1] O 3. The general impression of the Warboys case is that Mother Samuel was a silly old woman who was done to death through the deliberate antics of three malicious children; and in modern cases of hauntings it is noticeable that there is usually a mischievous child or servant-girl in the background. Still Mother Samuel confessed, though under severe cross-examination, to being a witch, and, on the whole, it seems probable that she had at least dabbled with witchcraft. Her 'spirits' were chickens.

by Stow which show that he suffered from a bladder complaint: but there were many suspicious signs of witchcraft as well. The Earl had disturbed dreams and saw an apparition which was not visible to his secretary. Six nights before his death one Mr Halsall found in his lord's chamber an image of wax, with hair like the Earl's hair twisted through the belly and down to the privities; the image was spotted, and similar spots appeared on his lordship the next day. Mr Halsall threw the image into the fire, believing that thereby the curse would pass back to the witch; this, however, was unfortunate, for his lord grew worse. Two days later, "one Iane a witch demanded of Master *Goborne* (one of the Earl's secretaries) whether his honor felt no paine in his lower partes, and whether he made water as yet or no: and at that very time notwithstanding all helpes, his water vtterly stopped, and so remained till he died."

Other witches were examined: "one of them being bidden to say the Lords prayer, sayd it well, but being coniured, in the Name of Iesus, that if she had bewitched his honour, shee should not bee able to say the same, shee could neuer repeat that petition, *Forgiue vs our trespasses*, no not although it was repeated vnto her." [1]

Another case somewhat similar to the events at Warboys occurred in 1597, and is also recorded in great detail in a pamphlet entitled *The most wonderfull and true storie, of a certaine witch named Alse Gooderidge of Stapenhill, who was arraigned and conuicted at Darbie at the Assises there, etc.* The victim this time was a boy, called Thomas Darling. On 27th February the boy had been with his uncle, Robert Toone, hunting the hare, but being left behind in the chase he returned home alone and began to be very sick. Next morning

[1] J. Stow, *Annals of England*, 1631, pp. 767–8. The test of the Lord's Prayer seems to have been highly regarded. In several witch examinations (including that of Alse Gooderidge) it is reported that the witch was unable to say "Forgive us our trespasses."

he fell into fits, pointing to green angels and complaining of a green cat. As he grew worse, his aunt took his urine to a physician, who suggested worms, but could otherwise offer no diagnosis. The sickness increasing, the physician declared that the boy was bewitched, though the aunt refused to believe him. The fits continued and a certain Jesse Bee was brought in to read the Bible. Bee also suspected witchcraft, and the matter was discussed in the presence of the boy.

Next morning the boy told the maid that on the day when he had lost his uncle, he had met a little old woman; "she had a gray gown with a black fringe about the cape, a broad thrumd hat, and three warts on her face: I haue seene her begging at our doore, as for her name I know it not, but by sight I can know her againe. As I passed by her in the Coppice, I chanced (against my will) to let a scape; which shee taking in anger sayd, *Gyp with a mischiefe, and fart with a bell: I will goe to heauen, and thou shalt go to hell*; and forthwith she stooped to the ground. I stood still and looked at her, viewing euerie part of her, meruailing what she stooped for; so I came home, and she went to Winsell."

The neighbours now began to suspect that this must be either the witch of Stapen Hill or her daughter, Alice Gooderidge. The fits continued. On the 8th April, Mistress Walkeden, the boy's grandmother, and another aunt, came to see him, and being informed of the bewitching, the grandmother sent for Alice Gooderidge. As soon as she was brought into the chamber where the boy was, he fell suddenly into a fit. This fit being ended, Mistress Walkeden asked Alice Gooderidge whether she knew the boy. She replied that she did not, nor would she confess anything. Some of the standers-by then persuaded the boy to scratch her, which he did upon the face and the back of the hands, but without any noticeable

result.[1] The boy's uncle and the schoolmaster then took the witch aside and examined her strictly.

Two days later both Alice Gooderidge, who was almost sixty years old, and her mother were brought before Master Thomas Graysley, Justice of the Peace, and again examined. Alice would confess nothing except that she met a boy, which she thought to be "*Sherats* boy" (who had once broken her a basket full of eggs), and was sorry if her words had caused him any harm.

On the 14th April Sir Humphry Ferrers and Master Graysley met at the uncle's house and there caused Alice Gooderidge, her mother, her husband and her son to be brought. The boy again had a fit, which was not cured when the old woman prayed, but passed off when she was thrust out of doors. It was therefore agreed that the old woman and Alice should be examined for suspicious marks, when there was found on the old woman "a thing much like the vdder of an ewe that giueth sucke with two teates, like vnto two great warts."[2] On Alice's body was found a hole "of the bigness of two pence, fresh and bloudy," which she declared had been accidentally caused by a knife when she had slipped down a ladder a few days before; but a surgeon pronounced that it "seemed to be sucken." Sir Humphry also charged her with witchcraft about one Michael's cow; "which Cow when shee brake all thinges that they tied her in, ranne to this Alice Gooderidge her house, scraping at the walls and windowes to haue come in: her olde mother *Elizabeth Wright*, took vpon her to help; vpon condition that she might haue a penny to bestow vpon her god, and so she came to the mans house, kneeled downe before the Cow, crossed her with a sticke in

[1] The theory of scratching a witch was that the witch's spirit would come out of the possessed to suck the blood.

[2] Similar excrescences were found on the body of Mother Samuel. These marks were supposed to be the places where the witches gave suck to their familiars.

the forehead, and prayed to her god, since which time the Cow continued wel." Alice Gooderidge, after further questioning, was thereupon committed to Derby Jail.

The boy's fits continued and his ravings are carefully detailed in the pamphlet. Jesse Bee, by constant reading in the Bible, endeavoured, but without success, to drive out the evil spirit. Meanwhile various friends consulted ' good witches ' but the boy's mother refused their aid. Other expedients were tried. On the 31st April, Alice Gooderidge was brought from prison, but her presence only made the boy so much worse that from three o'clock in the afternoon till nine he had twenty-seven fits. When Alice Gooderidge was charged with these fits, " she answered, that she indeed did vex the childe, but if they would forgiue her, it should cease."

A ' cunning man ' now undertook the cure, and in the presence of many worshipful persons he set about his business. They met at Toone's house. Alice was brought in and urged to confess voluntarily; to this she answered that if they would procure her liberty she would confess all freely but " presently her speech was interrupted, so that she could not speake, but she praied them to forgiue her." The cunning man then put on her a pair of new shoes and set her close by the fire till, as the shoes grew tight, she might be forced by the pain to confess the truth. " She being throghly heated desired a release and she would disclose al; which granted, she confessed nothing." She did, however, make some sort of confession to Mistress Dethick. Alice was therefore returned to the Town Hall.

Further examinations being held, at length the following confession was drawn out. " The first satterday in Lent toward euening I met the boy in the wood, and he called me witch of *Stapen hil*: and I saide againe, euerie boy dooth call me witch, but did

I euer make thy arse to itch? foorthwith I stooped to the ground, and the Diuell appeared to me in likenesse of a little partie-colored dog red and white, and I called him *Minny*, seeing that euerie boy calleth mee witch, therefore goes thy waies and torment this boy in euerie part of his bodie at thine owne pleasure, foorthwith I strained euerie part of my bodie, enforcing my selfe to vomit, saying; After this sort, vexe euerie part of him. Further (said she) the dog followed the boy to *Burton*, and as I returned from *Winsell* (whither I went to buie a groates worth of egges) he met me againe, telling me he had fulfilled my request, and at my yards end he departed from me; since when he hath bin diuers times with mee at *Darbie* gaole, and these two nights at *Burton Hall*, and continually he scratcheth my head, & scrapeth in the straw. Againe she said, the boy will not mend except you seek for help: you may haue help enough: she would haue spoken further, but something stopped her throat, and she saide, come out thou foule serpent."

The rest of the narrative is concerned with the further paroxysms of the boy Darling and his ultimate cure by John Darrell, the notorious exorcist. It ends with these words, "And as for the witch, she should haue bin executed, but that her spirit killed hir in the prison."[1] In the only other surviving copy the words are, "Now the Witch is dead, had she liued, she should haue bin executed."

Not many instances survive of the successful efforts of good witches or cunning men; those who benefited were usually silent. But quite a number of frauds are recorded either by the pamphleteers or in the indignant complaints of victims. Chettle in his *Kind-hartes Dreame* gives several examples; one of them was evidently related to the wise man who had

[1] Miss Murray considers that Alse Gooderidge was murdered in prison by one of the fraternity to which she belonged; but it would appear that she suffered from some affection of the throat which might have given the impression that she was supernaturally strangled.

so greatly impressed Samuel in Gifford's dialogue.[1] This expert passed as a gentleman with two servants in livery. "Hee being properly seated in a Shire of this Realme, and by the report of his men bruted for a cunning man, grew into credit by this practise.

"His house being in a Village through which was no thorough Fare, his men, and sometime his Mastershippe in their company at midnight would goe into their neighbours seuerall grounds being farre distant from their dwelling houses, and oftentimes driue from thence Horses, Mares, Oxen, Kine, Calues, or Sheepe, what euer came next to hande, a mile perchaunce or more out of the place wherein they were left.

"Home would they return and leaue the cattel straying: In the morning, sometime the milkemaids misse their Kine, another day the Ploughhinds their Oxen, their Horses another time, somewhat of some woorth once a weeke lightly. Whither can these poore people go but to the wise mans worship? Perchaunce in a morning two or three come to complaine and seeke remedie, who welcommed by one of his men, are seuerally demaunded of their losses. If one come for sheepe, another for other cattell, they are all at first tolde, that his Maistership is a sleepe, and till hee himselfe call they dare not trouble him.

"But very kindly he takes them into the hall, and when his worship stirs promises them they shall speake with him at liberty. Now sir behind a curtaine in the hall stands a shelfe garnisht with bookes, to which my mate goes vnder to take one downe. And as he takes it down pulleth certaine strings which are fastened to seuerall small bels in his Mâisters chamber, and as the bels strike, hee knowes what cattell his neighbors come to seeke, one bell being for Oxen, another for kine, another for swine, &c. A while after he stamps and makes a noyse aboue, the seruingman intreats the Suters to go vp, and hee hearing them

[1] See page xviii.

comming himselfe kindly opens them the dore, and ere euer they speake, salutes them, protesting for their losse great sorrowe, as if hee knew their griefes by reuelation, comforts them with hope of recouery, and such like wordes. They cry out, Iesu blesse your Mastership, what a gift haue you to tel our mindes and neuer heares vs speake. I neighbors saith he, ye may thanke God I trust I am come among ye to doe ye all good. Then knowing which way they were driuen, hee bids them goe either East-ward, or South-warde to seeke neere such an Oake or rowe of Elmes, or water, or such like marke neere the place where the Cattell were left; and hee assures them that by his skill the theeues had no power to carry them farther than that place. They runne and seek their cattle, which when they finde, O admirable wise man, the price of a Cow we will not sticke with him for, happy is the shire where such a one dwels. Thus doe the pore cousoned people proclaime, and so our shifter is sought too far and neere." [1]

After James I. ascended the English throne a new statute against witchcraft was enacted whereby the penalty of death was extended to include the practice of wicked arts; but there was no very noticeable attempt on the part of local magistrates to organise witch hunts, nor were there any notorious trials under the new king before 1612 when two sensational cases occurred, the one at Northampton in July, the other and more famous at York in July, and at Lancaster in August.

The Lancaster case is reported at length in *The Wonderfull Discouerie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster*,

[1] Henry Chettle, *Kind-hartes Dreame*, 1592, Bodley Head Quartos, vol. iv., pp. 56–58. A seventeenth-century collection of magical spells and *formulæ* in the British Museum (MSS. Addit. 36,674) includes "An experiment often proved to cause a theefe to come in his proper person wheresoever he be & with this experiment if thou have the right use thereof thou mayst cause any to come to thee at thy pleasure." The experiment was worked with a wax image and suitable spells. By similar means a man could conjure a woman into his presence.

reprinted in this book, which is the most important account of an English witch trial in the seventeenth century; it gives a valuable picture of judicial procedure in such cases; and it records a number of details of a kind which had not hitherto appeared in English witch cases. The pamphlet is the more valuable because Mr Thomas Potts, the author, has been careful to transcribe the official documents; his work was moreover revised by Sir Edward Bromley, the judge.

The beginnings of the Lancaster case go back to about 1591. In that year the Council had made great efforts to suppress Catholicism. A new proclamation was issued in the autumn and Ecclesiastical Commissioners were appointed all over the country to search out and deal with Jesuits and recusants. In Lancashire, however, the commissioners had failed; the ministers of the Church of England had no hold over the people, and the law was defied. The churches were empty, the people refused instruction, preachers were few, and unlearned ministers were being thrust with livings; drunkenness and bastardy were rife; marriages and baptisms were celebrated by Catholic priests in secret.[1] In such conditions secret societies flourish, and it was at this time that Elizabeth Sowtherns, better known as old Demdike, first became a witch when "a Spirit or Deuill in the shape of a Boy" demanded, and received, her soul.[2] Five years or so later, she persuaded Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, likewise to yield her soul to a devil.[3] Thereafter both women with their families had practised witchcraft. Old Demdike had initiated her daughter, Elizabeth Device, and her grandchildren, Alison and James Device; old Chattox had brought in her daughter, Anne Redfearn. Various neighbours joined with them in their

[1] For a detailed report of the state of the North see *State Papers Domestic*, ccxl., 138, and *Acts of the Privy Council*, edited by J. R. Dasent, xii., 547.

[2] *Infra*, p. 18. [3] P. 21.

practices; with one exception, all were of the labouring class.

Not long afterwards Mrs Elizabeth Nutter, wife of old Mr Robert Nutter who owned the land where the Redfearns lived, asked old Chattox to make away with young Robert Nutter in order that the property might pass to cousins. Old Chattox consented, but was dissuaded by her son-in-law. Young Nutter himself, however, fell foul of the Redfearn family, for he attempted to seduce Anne Redfearn, and being repulsed, swore that "if euer the Ground came to him, she should neuer dwell vpon his Land." In the Midsummer of that year old Demdike, passing by Redfearn's house, noticed Anne Redfearn and her mother making clay images of Christopher Nutter, Robert Nutter, and his wife. Young Robert Nutter fell sick and complained that he was bewitched; soon after he went away. He never came back "but died before Candlemas in Cheshire, as he was comming homeward."

About 1601 there was quarrel between the two households of Device (old Demdike's daughter) and Chattox. The fire house of the Devices had been broken open, and clothing and meal stolen. On the Sunday following Alison Device found Anne Redfearn wearing a band and coif which were part of the stolen goods and claimed them. Her father, however, was frightened and agreed to pay blackmail to Anne Chattox, which he did for some time; but then omitted it and shortly afterwards died.[1]

The feud between the families continued, each party endeavouring to harm the friends of the other.

As the witches grew more active, their doings and their meetings at the Malking Tower became common talk, and complaints were so insistent that in the end

[1] The witnesses are rather vague in their dates. Alison Device says that the burglary took place about eleven years ago, and that her father paid the tribute yearly until his death, also eleven years ago. Pp. 45–6.

of March 1612, Mr Robert Nowell, a Justice of the Peace, took action. He caused old Demdike and Alison Device, old Chattox and Anne Redfearn, to be brought before him. They admitted the charges and began to accuse each other with such zeal that they were committed to Lancaster Castle to await their trial at the Assizes.

This action alarmed the other witches in the neighbourhood. A special meeting was called at the Malking Tower, old Demdike's home, for Good Friday, where, after a feast of stolen mutton, the principal business considered was the slaying of Mr Cowell who kept the Castle, the blowing up of the Castle by gunpowder to release the prisoners, and the murder of Mr Lister of Westby for having tried to harm Jennet Preston, one of the company.[1] After this discussion, they parted, agreeing to meet that day twelve months when Jennet Preston promised a great feast. Mr Lister was dead before the summer was out, and Jennet Preston accused of his murder.

This meeting, however, came to the ears of Mr Nowell who was able to arrest several of those present.

On 27th July 1612 the assizes were held at York before Sir James Altham and Sir Edward Bromley, and Jennet Preston was condemned to death. Thence the Justices passed to Lancaster for the trial of the nineteen prisoners who had been apprehended by Mr Robert Nowell.

The first, and most difficult problem in considering this account of the Lancaster trial is to decide how far the evidence and confessions can be trusted as records of fact. It is easy enough to pshaw at the whole business as hysterical, the bewildered vapourings of old women forced, if not actually tortured, into confession by the leading questions of a bullying magistrate and the execrations of angry crowds. Yet

[1] For the details see pp. 173–6.

there is no sign of force in these depositions. Both old Demdike and Anne Chattox confessed voluntarily; John Device acknowledged in court that the evidence of his young sister was just and true in every particular; Alison Device confessed, also in open court, to the bewitching of John Law.

Moreover, it seems clear that the jury were not prepared to condemn without some proof. The sentence on Jennet Preston for murdering Mr Lister was severely criticised, much to Mr Potts' indignation, though there was ample evidence that she had at least plotted his death at the Malking Tower meeting; it was her second trial, for five months earlier she had been acquitted of child-murder by witchcraft. After her release she had gone off to the Good Friday meeting.

Nor was the Judge unwilling to listen to the defence; when the Salmesbury witches petitioned him to examine Grace Sowerbuts, who set her on, he at once took steps to have the whole story sifted, with the result that the accusation, which seemed at first sight to be reasonably corroborated, was completely demolished. Nor, if the evidence itself is examined without prejudice or emotion, is there much which will not admit of a rational explanation.

There is nothing very strange in the victuals which were eaten when Anne Chattox first became a witch, flesh, butter, cheese, bread, and drink, nor that on such an occasion she should feel never the fuller nor the better for them. The details of the meeting at the Malking Tower are material enough. Witchcraft by images of clay or wax is universal. But the spirits which appear now as men, now as animals, are, at first sight, more difficult to explain until it is remembered that in the witchcraft ritual the members of the coven disguise themselves as animals.[1] The " thing in the likenes of a spotted Bitch," the devil Tib " in the

[1] For the evidence see *The Witch-cult in Western Europe*, pp. 65–70.

shape of a black cat," Fancy " in the likenesse of a Bear," a " thing like vnto a black dog "—these are nothing more than the evil humans who were responsible for the whole business, and who managed, through their disguises, to keep out of danger. It is noticeable too that the witnesses of the meeting at the Malking Tower insist that the witches went out of the house in their own shapes and likenesses.[1]

If, then, the evidence can be taken at its face value, the Lancaster trial reveals the practice of the witch-cult in its full horror. The coven meets at Midsummer Night (p. 68), or on Good Friday, when it celebrates the Church's supreme fast-day with a feast. Anne Chattox gropes in a churchyard for scalps and teeth of the dead (p. 44). James Device is bidden to steal the consecrated bread from " such a thing as should meet him in his way homewards," but he forbore, and the thing in the shape of a hare threatened to pull him in pieces but he ' marked himself to God ' and the thing vanished. Enemies of the coven were cursed with clay images, and it is not unlikely that the curse would be fortified with poison. Apart from poison, the Pendle witches had obtained so sinister a hold over their neighbours that they could kill or paralyse by suggestion as readily as the modern psychoanalyst can cure; the unfortunate pedlar (pp. 139-145), for example, seems to have suffered from a paralytic stroke caused by the shock of seeing Alison Device's ' spirit.' There seems, in short, to have been little injustice in the sentences passed at Lancaster in August 1612.

It would, however, be wrong to deduce from this one case that in the seventeenth century every Englishman, as he put out his candle at night, trembled in the darkness lest some witch should be working evil upon him. Witch cases were no more common than hauntings or *poltergeist* manifestations to-day, and they are almost always to be found in the country,

[1] *Infra* pp. 22, 39, 43-4, 68, 75.

where emotions are stronger and more elemental, and where man is more at the mercy of nature and the supernatural. Spenser, by himself in Ireland, could pray feelingly that his wedding night should not be marred by the "Pouke nor other euill sprights," nor by "mischiuous witches with theyr charmes"; but when Puck comes on to a London stage he is a sophisticated fairy. Nor do the witches in *Macbeth* have much resemblance to the old creatures who figure in the witch pamphlets, as if Shakespeare's experiences of the supernatural were limited to books and legend.

Witchcraft can only flourish in certain mental conditions, and the emotions of our ancestors were less easily suppressed than our own. Yet even in the twentieth century when the emotions of Englishmen were stretched tight in the war every kind of superstition was rampant; spy mania (which is but another form of witch hunting), conjuration of the dead, belief in charms and mascots, enormous gullibility.

Poison, since the appointment of public analysts, has become a dangerous form of inchantment, but the anonymous post card, which is a modern development of the clay image, has taken its place, and expert blackmail is a very potent kind of witchcraft. If the witch-cult in its primitive form is no longer practised, similar religions "where there are twentie women given to that craft where there is one man" from time to time come to the notice of the police; and the more disreputable night-clubs, especially when old Master Antic is in one of his Puritan fits, fulfil many of the functions of the sabbat. It is as well not to be superior about the superstitions and injustices of our ancestors; our own will make nauseous reading to posterity.

NOTE

The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster was entered in the Stationers' Register on 7th November 1612. The present text has been set up from a copy of the original in the British Museum (c. 27, b. 37); it has been reprinted page for page with the original, but for convenience of reference the pages of the reprint have been numbered. No alterations have been made in the text. A modern edition of *The Wonderfull Discoverie*, edited by J. Crossley, was published by the Cheetham Society in 1843.

THE WONDERFVLL DISCOVERIE OF WITCHES IN THE COVNTIE OF LANCASTER.

With the Arraignement and Triall of Nineteene notorious WITCHES, at the Assizes and generall Gaole deliuerie, holden at the Castle of LANCASTER, *vpon Munday, the seuenteenth of August last,* 1612.

Before Sir IAMES ALTHAM, and Sir EDWARD BROMLEY, Knights; BARONS of his Maiesties Court of EXCHEQVER: And Iustices *of Assize,* Oyer *and* Terminor, *and generall* Gaole deliuerie in the circuit of the *North Parts.*

Together with the Arraignement and Triall of IENNET PRESTON, *at the Assizes holden at the Castle of Yorke, the seuen and twentieth day of Iulie last past,* with her Execution for the murther of Master LISTER *by Witchcraft.*

Published and set forth by commandement of his Maiesties Iustices of Assize in the North Parts.

By THOMAS POTTS *Esquier.*

LONDON,
Printed by *W. Stansby* for *Iohn Barnes,* dwelling neare Holborne Conduit. 1613.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE, *THOMAS*, LORD KNYVET, BARON OF ESCRICK

in the Countie of Yorke, my very honorable *good Lord and Master.*

AND

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE *AND VERTVOVS LADIE, THE Ladie* ELIZABETH KNYVET *his Wife, my* honorable good Ladie and MISTRIS.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

LET it ſtand (I beſeech you) with your fauours whom profeſſion of the ſame true Religion towards God, and ſo great loue hath vnited together in one, Jointly to

to accept the Protection and Patronage of these my labours, which not their owne worth hath encouraged, but your Worthinesse hath enforced me to consecrate vnto your Honours.

To you (Right Honourable my very good Lord) of Right doe they belong: for to whom shall I rather present the first fruits of my learning then to your Lordship: who nourished then both mee and them, when there was scarce any being to mee or them? And whose iust and vprght carriage of causes, whose zeale to Iustice and Honourable curtesie to all men, haue purchased you a Reuerend and worthie Respect of all men in all partes of this Kingdome, where you are knowne. And to your good Ladiship

they

they doe of great right belong likewise; Whose Religion, Iustice, and Honourable admittance of my Vnworthie Seruice to your Ladiship doe challenge at my handes the vttermost of what euer I may bee able to performe.

Here is nothing of my own act worthie to bee commended to your Honours, it is the worke, of those Reuerend Magistrates, His Maesties Iustices of Assizes in the North partes, and no more then a Particular Declaration of the proceedings of Iustice in those partes. Here shall you behold the Iustice of this Land, truely administred, Prœmium & Pœnam, *Mercie and Iudgement, freely and indifferently bestowed and inflicted; And aboue all thinges*

thinges to bee remembred, the excellent care of these Iudges in the Triall of offendors.

It hath pleased them out of their respect to mee to impose this worke vpon mee, and according to my vnderstanding, I haue taken paines to finish, and now confirmed by their Iudgement to publish the same, for the benefit of my Countrie. That the example of these conuicted vpon their owne Examinations, Confessions, and Euidence at the Barre, may worke good in others, Rather by with-holding them from, then imboldening them to, the Atcheiuing such desperate actes as these or the like.

These are some part of the fruits of my time spent in the Seruice of my Countrie,

trie, Since by your Graue and Reuerend Counsell (my Good Lord) I reduced my wauering and wandring thoughts to a more quiet harbour of repose.

If it please your Honours to giue them your Honourable respect, the world may iudge them the more worthie of acceptance, to whose various censures they are now exposed.

God of Heauen whose eies are on them that feare him, to bee their Protector and guide, behold your Honours with the eye of fauor, be euermore your strong hold, and your great reward, and blesse you with blessings in this life, Externall and Internall, Temporall and Spirituall, and with Eternall happines in the World to come: to which I commend your Ho-

nours; And rest both now and euer, From my Lodging in Chancerie Lane, the sixteenth of Nouember 1612.

Your Honours

humbly deuoted

Seruant,

Thomas Potts.

AFter he had taken great paines to finish it, I tooke vpon mee to reuise and correct it, that nothing might passe but matter of Fact, apparant against them by record. It is very little he hath inserted, and that necessarie, to shew what their offences were, what people, and of what condition they were: The whole proceedings and Euidence against them, I finde vpon examination carefully set forth, and truely reported, and iudge the worke fit and worthie to be published.

Edward Bromley.

Faults escaped in the Printing.

Page, C 3 : M. *Bauester*, for *Bannester*, brough, for brought. Page, E 2 This people, for these. Page, H Here they parted, for there. page, K 2 these, for this hellish. page, S 3 In the Verdict of Life and Death, Not guiltie, for guiltie. page, S 3 one Horse or Mare, for one Mare in the Indictment. page cadem, for the Triall of her life, reade for the triall of her offence. page, T their view, for your view.

Gentle Reader, although the care of this Gentleman the Author, was great to examine and publish this his worke perfect according to the Honorable testimonie of the Iudges, yet some faults are committed by me in the Printing, and yet not many, being a worke done in such great haste, at the end of a Tearme, which I pray you, with your fauour to excuse.



VPon the Arraignement and triall of these Witches at the last Assizes and Generall Gaole-deliuerie, holden at Lancaster, wee found such apparent matters against them, that we thought it necessarie to publish them to the World, and thereupon imposed the labour of this Worke vpon this Gentleman, by reason of his place, being a Clerke at that time in Court, imploied in the Arraignement and triall of them.

Ja. Altham.

Edw. Bromley.

A particular Declaration of

the most barberous and damnable Practises, Murthers, wicked and diuelish Conspiracies, practized *and executed by the most dangerous and malitious* Witch *Elizabeth Sowthernes* alias *Demdike*, of the Forrest of *Pendle* in the Countie of *Lancaster* Widdow, who died in the Castle at *Lancaster* before she came to receiue her tryall.

THough publique Iustice hath passed at these Assises vpon the Capitall offendours, and after the Arraignement & tryall of them, Iudgement being giuen, due and timely Execution succeeded; which doth import and giue the greatest satisfaction that can be, to all men; yet because vpon the caryage, and euent of this businesse, the Eyes of all the partes of *Lancashire*, and other Counties in the North partes thereunto adioyning were bent: And so infinite a multitude came to the Arraignement & tryall of these Witches at *Lancaster*, the number of them being knowen to exceed all others at any time heretofore, at one time to be indicted, arraigned, and receiue their tryall, especially for so many Murders, Conspiracies, Charmes, Meetinges, hellish and damnable practises, so apparant vpon their owne examinations & confessions. These my honourable & worthy Lords, the Iudges of Assise, vpon

great consideration, thought it necessarie & profitable, to publish to the whole world, their most barbarous and damnable practises, with the direct proceedinges of the Court against them, as well for that there doe passe diuers vncertaine reportes and relations of such Euidences, as was publiquely giuen against them at their Arraignement. As for that diuers came to prosecute against many of them that were not found guiltie, and so rest very discontented, and not satisfied. As also for that it is necessary for men to know and vnderstande the meanes whereby they worke their mischiefe, the hidden misteries of their diuelish and wicked Inchauntmentes, Charmes, and Sorceries, the better to preuent and auoyde the danger that may ensue. And lastly, who were the principall authors and actors in this late woefull and lamentable *Tragedie*, wherein so much Blood was spilt.

Therefore I pray you giue me leaue, (with your patience and fauour,) before I proceed to the Indictment, Arraignement, and Tryall of such as were Prisoners in the Castle, to lay open the life and death of this damnable and malicious Witch, of so long continuance (old *Demdike*) of whom our whole businesse hath such dependence, that without the particular Declaration and Record of her Euidence, with the circumstaunces, wee shall neuer bring any thing to good perfection: for from this Sincke of villanie and mischiefe, haue all the rest proceeded; as you shall haue them in order.

She was a very old woman, about the age of Fourescore yeares, and had been a Witch for fiftie yeares. Shee dwelt in the Forrest of *Pendle*, a vaste place, fitte for her profession: What shee committed in her time, no man knowes.

Thus liued shee securely for many yeares, brought vp her

her owne Children, inſtructed her Graund-children, and tooke great care and paines to bring them to be Witches. Shee was a generall agent for the Deuill in all these partes: no man escaped her, or her Furies, that euer gaue them any occasion of offence, or denyed them any thing they ſtood need of: And certaine it is, no man neere them, was secure or free from danger.

But God, who had in his diuine prouidence prouided to cut them off, and roote them out of the Commonwealth, so disposed aboue, that the Iuſtices of those partes, vnderſtanding by a generall charme and muttering, the great and vniuersall resort to *Maulking Tower*, the common opinion, with the report of these suspected people, the complaint of the Kinges subiectes for the losse of their Children, Friendes, Goodes, and Cattle, (as there could not be so great Fire without some Smoake,) sent for some of the Countrey, and tooke great paynes to enquire after their proceedinges, and courses of life.

In the end, *Roger Nowell* Esquire, one of his Maieſties Iuſtices in these partes, a very religious honeſt Gentleman, painefull in the seruice of his Countrey: whose fame for this great seruice to his Countrey, shall liue after him, tooke vpon him to enter into the particular examination of these suspected persons: And to the honour of God, and the great comfort of all his Countrey, made such a discouery of them in order, as the like hath not been heard of: which for your better satisfaction, I haue heere placed in order againſt her, as they are vpon Record, amongſt the Recordes of the *Crowne* at *Lancaſter*, certified by M. *Nowell*, and others.

The voluntarie Confession

and Examination of *Elizabeth Sowtherns* alias *Demdike*, taken at the Fence in the Forrest of *Pendle* in the Countie of *Lancaster*.

The second day of Aprill, *Annoq; Regni Regis Iacobi Angliæ, &c. Decimo, et Scotiæ Quadragesimo quinto;* Before *Roger Nowell* of *Reade* Esquire, one of his Maiesties Iustices of the peace within the sayd Countie, *Viz.*

THe said *Elizabeth Sowtherns* confesseth, and sayth; That about twentie yeares past, as she was comming homeward from begging, there met her this Examinate neere vnto a Stonepit in *Gouldshey*, in the sayd Forrest of *Pendle*, a Spirit or Deuill in the shape of a Boy, the one halfe of his Coate blacke, and the other browne, who bade this Examinate stay, saying to her, that if she would giue him her Soule, she should haue any thing that she would request. Wherevpon this Examinat demaunded his name? and the Spirit answered, his name was *Tibb*: and so this Examinate in hope of such gaine as was promised by the sayd Deuill or *Tibb*, was contented to giue her Soule to the said Spirit: And for the space of fiue or sixe yeares next after, the sayd Spirit or Deuill appeared at sundry times vnto her this Examinate about *Day-light* Gate, alwayes bidding her stay, and asking her this Examinate what she would haue

haue or doe? To whom this Examinate replyed, Nay nothing: for she this Examinate said, she wanted nothing yet. And so about the end of the said sixe yeares, vpon a Sabboth day in the morning, this Examinate hauing a litle Child vpon her knee, and she being in a slumber, the sayd Spirit appeared vnto her in the likenes of a browne Dogg, forcing himselfe to her knee, to get blood vnder her left Arme: and she being without any apparrell sauing her Smocke, the said Deuill did get blood vnder her left arme. And this Examinate awaking, sayd, *Iesus saue my Child*; but had no power, nor could not say, *Iesus saue her selfe*: wherevpon the Browne Dogge vanished out of this Examinats sight: after which, this Examinate was almost starke madd for the space of eight weekes.

And vpon her examination, she further confesseth, and saith. That a little before Christmas last, this Examinates Daughter hauing been to helpe *Richard Baldwyns* Folkes at the Mill: This Examinates Daughter did bid her this Examinate goe to the said *Baldwyns* house, and aske him some thing for her helping of his Folkes at the Mill, (as aforesaid:) and in this Examinates going to the said *Baldwyns* house, and neere to the said house, she mette with the said *Richard Baldwyn*; Which *Baldwyn* sayd to this Examinate, and the said *Alizon Deuice* (who at that time ledde this Examinate, being blinde) get out of my ground Whores and Witches, I will burne the one of you, and hang the other. To whom this Examinate answered: I care not for thee, hang thy selfe: Presently wherevpon, at this Examinates going ouer the next hedge, the said Spirit or Diuell called *Tibb*, appeared vnto this Examinat, and sayd, *Reuenge thee of him*. To whom, this Examinate sayd againe to the said Spirit. *Reuenge thee eyther of him, or his*. And so the said Spirit vanished out of her sight, and she

neuer saw him since.

And further this Examinate confesseth, and sayth, that the speediest way to take a mans life away by VVitchcraft, is to make a Picture of Clay, like vnto the shape of the person whom they meane to kill, & dry it thorowly: and when they would haue them to be ill in any one place more then an other; then take a Thorne or Pinne, and pricke it in that part of the Picture you would so haue to be ill: and when you would haue any part of the Body to consume away, then take that part of the Picture, and burne it. And when they would haue the whole body to consume away, then take the remnant of the sayd Picture, and burne it: and so therevpon by that meanes, the body shall die.

The

The Confeſſion and Examination of Anne Whittle *alias* Chattox, being Priſoner at *Lancaſter*; taken the 19 day of May, *Annoq; Regni Regis Iacobi Angliæ, Decimo: ac Scotie Quadragesimo quinto*; Before *William Sandes* Maior of the Borrough towne of *Lancaſter*.

Iames Anderton of *Clayton*, one of his Maieſties Iuſtices of Peace within the same County, and *Thomas Cowell* one of his Maieſties Coroners in the sayd Countie of Lancaſter.

Viz.

FIrſt, the sayd *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, sayth, that about foureteene yeares paſt she entered, through the wicked perswasions, and counsell of *Elizabeth Southerns*, alias *Demdike*, and was seduced to condiscend & agree to become subiect vnto that diuelish abhominable profession of Witchcraft: Soone after which, the Deuill appeared vnto her in the liknes of a Man, about midnight, at the house of the sayd *Demdike*: and therevpon the sayd *Demdike* and shee, went foorth of the said house vnto him; wherevpon the said wicked Spirit mooued this Examinate, that she would become his Subiect, and giue her Soule vnto him: the which at firſt, she refused to assent vnto; but after, by the great perswasions made by the sayd *Demdike*, shee yeelded to be at his commaundement and appoyntment: wherevpon the sayd wicked Spirit then sayd vnto her, that hee muſt haue one part of her body for him to sucke vpon; the which shee denyed then to graunt vnto him; and withall asked him,

him, what part of her body hee would haue for that vse ; who said, hee would haue a place of her right side neere to her ribbes, for him to sucke vpon : whereunto shee assented.

And she further sayth, that at the same time, there was a thing in the likenes of a spotted Bitch, that came with the sayd Spirit vnto the sayd *Demdike*, which then did speake vnto her in this Examinates hearing, and sayd, that she should haue Gould, Siluer, and wordly Wealth, at her will. And at the same time she saith, there was victuals, *viz.* Flesh, Butter, Cheese, Bread, and Drinke, and bidde them eate enough. And after their eating, the Deuill called *Fancie*, and the other Spirit calling himselfe *Tibbe*, carried the remnant away : And she sayeth, that although they did eate, they were neuer the fuller, nor better for the same; and that at their said Banquet, the said Spirits gaue them light to see what they did, although they neyther had fire nor Candle light ; and that they were both shee Spirites, and Diuels.

And being further examined how many sundry Persons haue been bewitched to death, and by whom they were so bewitched : She sayth, that one *Robert Nuter*, late of the *Greene-head* in *Pendle*, was bewitched by this Examinate, the said *Demdike*, and Widdow *Lomshawe*, (late of *Burneley*) now deceased.

And she further sayth, that the said *Demdike* shewed her, that she had bewitched to death, *Richard Ashton*, Sonne of *Richard Ashton* of *Downeham* Esquire.

The

The Examination of Alizon

Deuice, of the Forreſt of Pendle, in the County of *Lancaſter* Spinſter, taken at *Reade* in the ſaid Countie of *Lancaſter*, *the* xiij. day of March, *Anno Regni Jacobi Angliæ, &c. Nono: et Scotiæ xlv.*

Before *Roger Nowell* of *Reade* aforesayd Esquire, one of his Maieſties Iuſtices of the Peace within the sayd Countie, againſt *Elizabeth Sowtherns*, alias *Demdike* her Grannd-mother.

Viz.

THe sayd *Alizon Deuice* sayth, that about two yeares agon, her Graund-mother (called *Elizabeth Sowtherns*, alias old *Demdike*) did sundry times in going or walking togeather as they went begging, perswade and aduise this Examinate to let a Deuill or Familiar appeare vnto her; and that shee this Examinate, would let him sucke at some part of her, and shee might haue, and doe what shee would.

And she further sayth, that one *Iohn Nutter* of the *Bulhole* in *Pendle* aforesaid, had a Cow which was sicke, & requeſted this examinats Grand-mother to amend the said Cow; and her said Graund-mother said she would, and so her said Graund-mother about ten of the clocke in the night, desired this examinate to lead her foorth; which this Examinate did, being then blind: and her Graund-mother did remaine about halfe an houre foorth: and this Examinates ſiſter did fetch her in againe; but what she did when she was so foorth, this Examinate cannot tell. But the next

morning this Examinate heard that the sayd Cow was dead. And this Examinate verily thinketh, that her sayd Graund-mother did bewitch the sayd Cow to death.

And further, this Examinate sayth, that about two yeares agon, this Examinate hauing gotten a Piggin full of blew Milke by begging, brought it into the house of her Graund-mother, where (this Examinate going foorth presently, and ſtaying about halfe an houre) there was Butter to the quantity of a quarterne of a pound in the said milke, and the quantitie of the said milke ſtill remayning; and her Graund-mother had no Butter in the house when this Examinate went foorth: duering which time, this Examinates Graund-mother ſtill lay in her bed.

And further this Examinate sayth, that *Richard Baldwin* of *Weethead* within the Forreſt of *Pendle*, about 2. yeeres agoe, fell out with this Examinates Graund-mother, & so would not let her come vpon his Land: and about foure or fiue dayes then next after, her said Graund-mother did requeſt this Examinate to lead her foorth about ten of the clocke in the night: which this Examinate accordingly did, and she ſtayed foorth then about an houre, and this Examinates ſiſter fetched her in againe. And this Examinate heard the next morning, that a woman Child of the sayd *Richard Baldwins* was fallen sicke; and as this Examinate did then heare, the sayd Child did languish afterwards by the space of a yeare, or thereaboutes, and dyed: And this Examinate verily thinketh, that her said Graund-mother did bewitch the sayd Child to death.

And further, this Examinate sayth, that she heard her sayd Graund-mother say presently after her falling out with the sayd *Baldwin*, shee would pray for the sayd *Baldwin* both ſtill and loude: and this Examinate heard her cursse the sayd *Baldwin* sundry times.

The

The Examination of *Iames Deuice* of the Forreſt of *Pendle*, in the Countie of *Lancaſter* Labourer, taken the 27. day of April, *Annoq; Regni Regis Iacobi, Angliæ, &c. Decimo: ac Scotie Quadragesimo quinto*: Before *Roger Nowell*, and *Nicholas Baniſter Esq;*. two of his Maieſties Iuſtices of Peace within the sayd Countie.

THE sayd Examinate *Iames Deuice* sayth, that about a month agoe, as this Examinate was comming towards his Mothers house, and at day-gate of the same night, this Examinate mette a browne Dogge comming from his Graund-mothers house, about tenne Roodes diſtant from the same house: and about two or three nights after, that this Examinate heard a voyce of a great number of Children screiking and crying pittifully, about day-light gate; and likewise, about ten Roodes diſtant of this Examinates sayd Graund-mothers house. And about fiue nights then next following, presently after daylight, within 20. Roodes of the sayd *Elizabeth Sowtherns* house, he heard a foule yelling like vnto a great number of Cattes: but what they were, this Examinate cannot tell. And he further sayth, that about three nights after that, about midnight of the same, there came a thing, and lay vpon him very heauily about an houre, and went then from him out of his Chamber window, coloured blacke, and about the bignesse of a Hare or Catte. And he further sayth, that about S. *Peters* day laſt, one *Henry Bullocke* came to the sayd *Elizabeth Sowtherns* house, and sayd, that her Graund-child *Alizon Deuice*, had bewitched a Child of his, and desired her that she would goe with him to his house; which accordingly she did: And thereupon she the said *Alizon* fell downe on her knees, & asked the said *Bullocke* forgiuenes, and confessed to him, that she had bewitched the said child, as this Examinate heard his said siſter confesse vnto him this Examinate.

The Examination of Elizabeth Deuice, Daughtor of old Demdike, taken at *Read* before *Roger Nowell* Esquire, one of his Maiesties Iustices of Peace within the Countie of *Lancaster* the xxx. day of March, *Annoq; Regni Jacobi Decimo, ac Scotie xlv.*

THe sayd *Elizabeth Deuice* the Examinate, sayth, that the sayd *Elizabeth Sowtherns*, alias *Demdike*, hath had a place on her left side by the space of fourty yeares, in such sort, as was to be seene at this Examinates Examination taking, at this present time.

Heere this worthy Iustice M. *Nowell*, out of these particular Examinations, or rather Accusations, finding matter to proceed; and hauing now before him old *Demdike*, old *Chattox*, *Alizon Deuice*, and *Redferne* both old and young, *Reos confitentes, et Accusantes Inuicem.* About the second of Aprill last past, committed and sent them away to the Castle at *Lancaster*, there to remaine vntill the comming of the Kinges Maiesties Iustices of Assise, then to receiue their tryall.

But

But heere they had not ſtayed a weeke, when their Children and Friendes being abroad at libertie, laboured a speciall meeting at *Malking Tower* in the Forreſt of *Pendle*, vpon Good-fryday, within a weeke after they were committed, of all the moſt dangerous, wicked, and damnable Witches in the County farre and neere. Vpon Good-fryday they met, according to solemne appoyntment, solemnized this great Feaſtiuall day according to their former order, with great cheare, merry company, and much conference.

In the end, in this great Assemblie, it was decreed M. *Couell* by reason of his Office, shall be slaine before the next Assises: The Caſtle of *Lancaſter* to be blowen vp, and ayde and assiſtance to be sent to kill M. *Liſter*, with his old Enemie and wicked Neighbour *Iennet Preſton*; with some other such like practises: as vpon their Arraignement and Tryall, are particularly set foorth, and giuen in euidence againſt them.

This was not so secret, but some notice of it came to M. *Nowell*, and by his great paines taken in the Examination of *Iennet Deuice*, al their practises are now made knowen. Their purpose to kill M. *Couell*, and blow vp the Caſtle, is preuented. All their Murders, Witchcraftes, Inchauntments, Charmes, & Sorceries, are discouered; and euen in the middeſt of their Consultations, they are all confounded, and arreſted by Gods Iuſtice: brough before M. *Nowell*, and M. *Bauerſter*, vpon their voluntary confessions, Examinations, and other Euidence accused, and so by them committed to the Caſtle: So as now both old and young, haue taken vp their lodgings with M. *Couell*, vntill the next Assises, expecting their Tryall and deliueraunce, according to the Lawes prouided for such like.

In the meane time, M. *Nowell* hauing knowledge by this discouery of their meeting at *Malkeing Tower*, and their resolution to execute mischiefe, takes great paines to apprehend such as were at libertie, and prepared Euidence against all such as were in question for Witches.

Afterwardes sendes some of these Examinations, to the Assises at Yorke, to be giuen in Euidence against *Iennet Preston*, who for the murder of M. *Lister*, is condemned and executed.

The Circuite of the North partes being now almost ended.

The 16. of August.

Vpon Sunday in the after noone, my honorable Lords the Iudges of Assise, came from *Kendall* to *Lancaster*.

Wherevpon M. *Couell* presented vnto their Lordships a Calender, conteyning the Names of the Prisoners committed to his charge, which were to receiue their Tryall at the Assises: Out of which, we are onely to deale with the proceedings against Witches, which were as followeth.

Viz.

The

The Names of the Witches committed to the Caſtle of *Lancaſter.*

Elizabeth Sowtherns. alias *Old Demdike.* } Who dyed before ſhee came to her tryall.

Anne Whittle, alias *Chattox*,
Elizabeth Deuice, Daughter of old *Demdike.*
Iames Deuice, Sonne of *Elizabeth Deuice.*
Anne Readfearne, Daughter of *Anne Chattox.*
Alice Nutter.
Katherine Hewytte.
Iohn Bulcocke.
Iane Bulcocke.
Alizon Deuice, Daughter of *Elizabeth Deuice.*
Isabell Robey.
Margaret Pearson.

The Witches of Salmesbury.

Iennet Bierley.
Elen Bierley.
Iane Southworth.
Iohn Ramesden.

Elizabeth Aſtley.
Alice Gray.
Isabell Sidegraues.
Lawrence Haye.

The next day, being Monday, the 17. of Auguſt, were the Aſſises holden in the Caſtle of *Lancaſter* as followeth.

Placita

PLACITA CORONÆ,
Apud Lancasterium.

DEliberatio Gaolæ Domini Regis Castri sui Lancastrii ac Prisonariorū in eadem existent. Tenta apud Lancasterium in com. Lancasterij. Die Lunæ, Decimo septimo die Augusti, Anno Regni Domini nostri Iacobi dei gratiæ Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, Regis fidei defensoris; Decimo: et Scotiæ Quadragesimo sexto; Coram Iacobo Altham Milit. vno Baronum Scaccarij Domini Regis, et Edwardo Bromley Milit. altero Barono, eiusdem Scaccarij Domini Regis: ac Iustic. Domini Regis apud Lancastr.

VPon the Tewesday in the after noone, the Iudges according to the course and order, deuided themselues, whereupon my Lord *Bromley*, one of his Maiestices Iudges of Assise comming into the Hall to proceede with the Pleaes of the Crowne, & the Arraignement and Tryall of Prisoners, commaunded a generall Proclamation, that all Iustices of Peace that had taken any Recognisaunces, or Examinations of Prisoners, should make Returne of them: And all such as were bound to prosecute Indictmentes, and giue Euidence against Witches, should proceede, and giue attendance: For hee now intended to proceed to the Arraignement and Tryall of VVitches.

After which, the Court being set, M. Sherieffe was commaunded to present his Prisoners before his Lordship, and prepare a sufficient Iurie of Gentlemen for life and death. But heere we want old *Demdike*, who dyed in the Castle before she came to her Tryall.

Heere

Heere you may not expect the exact order of the Assises, with the Proclamations, and other solemnities belonging to so great a Court of Iuſtice; but the proceedinges againſt the Witches, who are now vpon their deliuerance here in order as they came to the Barre, with the particular poyntes of Euidence againſt them: which is the labour and worke we now intend (by Gods grace) to performe as we may, to your generall contentment.

Wherevpon, the firſt of all these, *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, was brought to the Barre: againſt whom wee are now ready to proceed.

The Arraignement and Tryall of Anne Whittle, *alias* Chattox, of the Forrest of *Pendle*, in the Countie of *Lancaster*, Widdow; about the age of Foure-score yeares, or thereaboutes.

Anne Whittle, alias *Chattox*.

IF in this damnable course of life, and offences, more horrible and odious, then any man is able to expresse: any man lyuing could lament the estate of any such like vpon earth: The example of this poore creature, would haue moued pittie, in respect of her great contrition and repentance, after she was committed to the Castle at *Lancaster*, vntill the comming of his Maiesties Iudges of Assise. But such was the nature of her offences, & the multitude of her crying sinnes, as it tooke away all sense of humanity. And the repetition of her hellish practises, and Reuenge; being the chiefest thinges wherein she alwayes tooke great delight, togeather with a particular declaration of the Murders shee had committed, layde open to the world, and giuen in Euidence against her at the time of her Arraignement and Tryall;

Tryall ; as certainely it did beget contempt in the Audience, and such as she neuer offended.

This *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, was a very old withered spent & decreped creature, her sight almost gone: A dangerous Witch, of very long continuance ; alwayes opposite to old *Demdike* : For whom the one fauoured, the other hated deadly : and how they enuie and accuse one an other, in their Examinations, may appeare. *Her owne examination*

In her Witchcraft, alwayes more ready to doe mischiefe to mens goods, then themselues. Her lippes euer chattering and walking : but no man knew what. She liued in the Forreſt of *Pendle*, amongſt this wicked company of dangerous Witches. Yet in her Examination and Confession, she dealt alwayes very plainely and truely : for vpon a speciall occasion being oftentimes examined in open Court, shee was neuer found to vary, but alwayes to agree in one, and the selfe same thing.

I place her in order, next to that wicked fire-brand of mischiefe, old *Demdike*, because from these two, sprung all the rest in order : and were the Children and Friendes, of these two notorious VVitches.

Many thinges in the discouery of them, shall be very worthy your obseruation. As the times and occasions to execute their mischiefe. And this in generall : the Spirit could neuer hurt, till they gaue consent.

And, but that it is my charge, to set foorth a particular Declaration of the Euidence againſt them, vpon their Arraignement and Tryall; with their Diuelish practises, consultations, meetings, and murders committed by them,

in such sort, as they were giuen in Euidence against them; for the which, I shall haue matter vpon Record. I could make a large Comentarie of them : But it is my humble duety, to obserue the Charge and Commaundement of these my Honorable good Lordes the Iudges of Assise, and not to exceed the limits of my Commission. Wherefore I shall now bring this auncient Witch, to the due course of her Tryall, in order. *viz.*

Indictment.

THis *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, of the Forrest of *Pendle* in the Countie of *Lancaster* Widdow, being Indicted, for that shee feloniously had practised, vsed, and exercised diuers wicked and diuelish Artes called Witchcraftes, Inchauntmentes, Charmes, and Sorceries, in and vpon one *Robert Nutter* of *Greenehead*, in the Forrest of *Pendle*, in the Countie of *Lanc* : and by force of the same Witchcraft, feloniously the sayd *Robert Nutter* had killed, *Contra Pacem*, *&c*. Being at the Barre, was arraigned.

To this Indictment, vpon her Arraignement, shee pleaded, Not guiltie : and for the tryall of her life, put her selfe vpon God and her Country.

Wherevpon my Lord *Bromley* commaunded M. Sheriffe of the County of *Lancaster* in open Court, to returne a Iurie of worthy sufficient Gentlemen of vnderstanding, to passe betweene our soueraigne Lord the Kinges Maiestie, and her, and others the Prisoners, vpon their liues and deathes ; as hereafter follow in order : who were afterwardes sworne, according to the forme and order of the

the Court, the Prisoners being admitted to their lawfull challenges.

VVhich being done, and the Prisoner at the Barre readie to receiue her Tryall: M. *Nowell*, being the beſt inſtructed of any man, of all the particular poyntes of Euidence againſt her, and her fellowes, hauing taken great paynes in the proceedinges againſt her and her fellowes; Humbly prayed, her owne voluntary Confession and Examination taken before him, when she was apprehended and committed to the Caſtle of *Lancaſter* for Witchcraft; might openly be published againſt her: which hereafter followeth. *Viz.*

The voluntary Confession and examination of *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, taken at the *Fence* in the Forreſt of *Pendle*, in the Countie of *Lancaſter*; Before *Roger Nowell Esq.*, one of the Kinges Maieſties Iuſtices of Peace in the Countie of Lancaſter.

Viz.

THe sayd *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, vpon her Examination, voluntarily confeſseth, and sayth, That about foureteene or fifteene yeares agoe, a thing like a Chriſtian man for foure yeares togeather, did sundry times come to this Examinate, and requeſted this Examinate to giue him her Soule: And in the end, this Examinate was contented to giue him her sayd Soule, shee being then in her owne house, in the Forreſt of *Pendle*; wherevpon the Deuill then in the shape of a Man, sayd to this Examinate: Thou shalt want nothing; and be reuenged of whom thou liſt. And the Deuill then further com-

maunded this Examinate, to call him by the name of *Fancie* ; and when she wanted any thing, or would be reuenged of any, call on *Fancie*, and he would be ready. And the sayd Spirit or Deuill, did appeare vnto her not long after, in mans likenesse, and would haue had this Examinate to haue consented, that he might hurt the wife of *Richard Baldwin* of *Pendle* ; But this Examinate would not then consent vnto him : For which cause, the sayd Deuill would then haue bitten her by the arme ; and so vanished away, for that time.

And this Examinate further sayth, that *Robert Nutter* did desire her Daughter one *Redfearns* wife, to haue his pleasure of her, being then in *Redfearns* house : but the sayd *Redfearns* wife denyed the sayd *Robert ;* wherevpon the sayd *Robert* seeming to be greatly displeased therewith, in a great anger tooke his Horse, and went away, saying in a great rage, that if euer the Ground came to him, shee should neuer dwell vpon his Land. Wherevpon this Examinate called *Fancie* to her ; who came to her in the likenesse of a Man in a parcell of Ground called, *The Laund* ; asking this Examinate, what shee would haue him to doe ? And this Examinate bade him goe reuenge her of the sayd *Robert Nutter*. After which time, the sayd *Robert Nutter* liued about a quarter of a yeare, and then dyed.

And this Examinate further sayth, that *Elizabeth Nutter*, wife to old *Robert Nutter*, did request this Examinate, and *Loomeshaws* wife of *Burley*, and one *Iane Boothman*, of the same, who are now both dead, (which time of request, was before that *Robert Nutter* desired the company of *Redfearns* wife) to get young *Robert Nutter* his death, if they

they could; all being togeather then at that time, to that end, that if *Robert* were dead, then the Women their Coosens might haue the Land: By whose perswasion, they all consented vnto it. After which time, this Examinates Sonne in law *Thomas Redfearne*, did perswade this Examinate, not to kill or hurt the sayd *Robert Nutter*; for which perswasion, the sayd *Loomeshaws* Wife, had like to haue killed the sayd *Redfearne*, but that one M. *Baldwyn* (the late Schoole-maiſter at *Coulne*) did by his learning, ſtay the sayd *Loomeshaws* wife, and therefore had a Capon from *Redfearne*.

And this Examinate further sayth, that she thinketh the sayd *Loomeshaws* wife, and *Iane Boothman*, did what they could to kill the sayd *Robert Nutter*, as well as this Examinate did.

The

The Examination of ELIZABETH SOTHERNES, alias OLD DEMBDIKE: *taken at the Fence in the Forreſt of Pendle in the Countie of Lancaſter, the day and yeare aforesaid.*

Before,

ROGER NOWEL *Esquire, one of the Kings Maieſties Iuſtices of Peace in the ſaid Countie, againſt* ANNE WHITTLE, alias CHATTOX.

THe ſaid *Elizabeth Southernes* saith vpon her Examination, that about halfe a yeare before *Robert Nutter* died, as this Examinate thinketh, this Examinate went to the house of *Thomas Redfearne*, which was about Mid-sommer, as this Examinate remembreth it. And there within three yards of the Eaſt end of the ſaid house, shee saw the ſaid *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, and *Anne Redferne* wife of the ſaid *Thomas Redferne*, and Daughter of the ſaid *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox:* the one on the one side of the Ditch, and the other on the other: and two Pictures of Clay or Marle lying by them: and the third Picture the ſaid *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, was making: and the ſaid *Anne Redferne* her ſaid Daughter, wrought her Clay or Marle to make the third picture withall. And this Examinate passing by them, the ſaid Spirit, called *Tibb*, in the shape of a black Cat, appeared vnto her this Examinate, and ſaid, turne back againe, and doe as they doe: To whom this Examinate ſaid, what are they doing? whereunto the ſaid Spirit ſaid; they are making three Pictures: whereupon she asked whose pictures they were? whereunto the ſaid Spirit ſaid: they

are the pictures of *Christopher Nutter*, *Robert Nutter*, and *Marie*, wife of the said *Robert Nutter*: But this Examinate denying to goe back to helpe them to make the Pictures aforesaid; the said Spirit seeming to be angrie, therefore shoue or pushed this Examinate into the ditch, and so shed the Milke which this Examinate had in a Can or Kit: and so thereupon the Spirit at that time vanished out of this Examinates sight: But presently after that, the said Spirit appeared to this Examinate againe in the shape of a Hare, and so went with her about a quarter of a mile, but said nothing to this Examinate, nor shee to it.

The Examination and euidence of IAMES ROBINSON, *taken the day and yeare aforesaid.*

Before

ROGER NOWEL *Esquire aforesaid, against* ANNE WHITTLE, alias CHATTOX, *Prisoner at the Barre as followeth.* viz.

THe said Examinate saith, that about sixe yeares agoe, *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, was hired by this Examinates wife to card wooll; and so vpon a Friday and Saturday, shee came and carded wooll with this Examinates wife, and so the Munday then next after shee came likewise to card: and this Examinates wife hauing newly tunned drinke into Stands, which stood by the said *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*: and the said *Anne Whittle* taking a Dish or Cup, and drawing drinke seuerall times:

and

and so neuer after that time, for some eight or nine weekes, they could haue any drinke, but spoiled, and as this Examinate thinketh was by the meanes of the said *Chattox*. And further he saith, that the said *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, and *Anne Redferne* her said Daughter, are commonly reputed and reported to bee Witches. And hee also saith, that about some eighteene yeares agoe, he dwelled with one *Robert Nutter* the elder, of Pendle aforesaid. And that yong *Robert Nutter*, who dwelled with his Grand-father, in the Sommer time, he fell sicke, and in his said sicknesse hee did seuerall times complaine, that hee had harme by them : and this Examinate asking him what hee meant by that word *Them*, He said, that he verily thought that the said *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, and the said *Redfernes* wife, had bewitched him : and the said *Robert Nutter* shortly after, being to goe with his then Maſter, called Sir *Richard Shattleworth*, into Wales, this Examinate heard him say before his then going, vnto the said *Thomas Redferne*, that if euer he came againe he would get his Father to put the said *Redferne* out of his house, or he himselfe would pull it downe ; to whom the said *Redferne* replyed, saying ; when you come back againe you will be in a better minde : but he neuer came back againe, but died before Candlemas in Cheshire, as he was comming homeward.

Since the voluntarie confession and examination of a Witch, doth exceede all other euidence, I spare to trouble you with a multitude of Examinations, or Depositions of any other witnesses, by reason of this bloudie fact, for the Murder of *Robert Nutter*, vpon so small an occasion, as to threaten to take away

his owne land from such as were not worthie to inhabite or dwell vpon it, is now made by that which you haue alreadie heard, so apparant, as no indifferent man will question it, or rest vnsatisfied : I shall now proceede to set forth vnto you the rest of her actions, remaining vpon Record. And how dangerous it was for any man to liue neere this people, to giue them any occasion of offence, I leaue it to your good consideration.

The Examination and voluntarie Confession of ANNE WHITTLE, alias CHATTOX, *taken at the Fence in the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, the second day of Aprill*, Anno Regni Regis IACOBI Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, decimo, & Scotiæ xlv.

Before

ROGER NOVVEL, *Esquire, one of his Maiesties Iustices of Peace within the Countie of Lancaster.*

SHe the said Examinate saith, That shee was sent for by the wife of *Iohn Moore*, to helpe drinke that was forspoken or bewitched : at which time shee vsed this Prayer for the amending of it, *viz.*

A Charme.

Three Biters hast thou bitten,
The Hart, ill Eye, ill Tonge :

Three

Three bitter ſhall be thy Boote,
Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghoſt
a Gods name.
Fiue Pater-noſters, fiue Auies,
and a Creede,
In worſhip of fiue wounds
of our Lord.

After which time that this Examinate had vsed these prayers, and amended her drinke, the ſaid *Moores* wife did chide this Examinate, and was grieued at her.

And thereupon this Examinate called for her Deuill *Fancie*, and bad him goe bite a browne Cow of the ſaid *Moores* by the head, and make the Cow goe madde: and the Deuill then, in the likeneſſe of a browne Dogge, went to the ſaid Cow, and bit her: which Cow went madde accordingly, and died within ſix weekes next after, or thereabouts.

Alſo this Examinate ſaith, That ſhee perceiuing *Anthonie Nutter* of Pendle to fauour *Elizabeth Sothernes*, alias *Dembdike*, ſhe, this Examinate, called *Fancie* to her, (who appeared like a man) and bad him goe kill a Cow of the ſaid *Anthonies*; which the ſaid Deuill did, and that Cow died alſo.

And further this Examinate ſaith, That the Deuill, or *Fancie*, hath taken moſt of her ſight away from her. And further this Examinate ſaith, That in Summer laſt, ſaue one, the ſaid Deuill, or *Fancie*, came vpon this Examinate in the night time: and at diuerſe and ſundry times in the likeneſſe of a Beare, gaping as though he would haue wearied this Examinate. And the laſt time of all ſhee, this Examinate, ſaw him, was vpon

Thursday last yeare but one, next before Midsummer day, in the euening, like a Beare, and this Examinate would not then speake vnto him, for the which the said Deuill pulled this Examinate downe.

The Examination of IAMES DEVICE, *sonne of* ELIZABETH DEVICE, *taken the seuen and twentieth day of Aprill*, Annoq; Reg. Regis IACOBI Angliæ, &c. Decimo ac Scotiæ xlv.

Before

ROGER NOVVEL and NICHOLAS BANISTER, *Esquires, two of his Maiesties Iustices of the Peace within the said Countie.* viz.

AND further saith, That twelue yeares agoe, the said *Anne Chattox* at a Buriall at the new Church in Pendle, did take three scalpes of people, which had been buried, and then cast out of a graue, as she the said *Chattox* told this Examinate; and tooke eight teeth out of the said Scalpes, whereof she kept foure to her selfe, and gaue other foure to the said *Demdike*, this Examinates Grand-mother: which foure teeth now shewed to this Examinate, are the foure teeth that the said *Chattox* gaue to his said Grand-mother, as aforesaid; which said teeth haue euer since beene kept, vntill now found by the said *Henry Hargreiues* & this Examinate, at the West-end of this Examinates Grand-mothers house, and there buried in the earth, and a Picture of Clay there likewise found by them, about halfe a yard ouer in the earth,

earth, where the said teeth lay, which said picture so found, was almoſt withered away, and was the Picture of *Anne*, *Anthony Nutters* daughter; as this Examinates Grand-mother told him.

The Examination of ALLIZON DEVICE *daughter of* ELIZABETH DEVICE: *Taken at Reade, in the Countie of Lancaſter, the thirtieth day of March*, Annoq; Reg. Regis IACOBI nunc Angliæ, &c. Decimo, & Scotiæ Quadragesimo quinto.

Before

ROGER NOVVEL *of Reade aforesaid, Esquire, one of his Maieſties Iuſtices of the Peace, within the said Countie.*

THis Examinate saith, That about eleuen yeares agoe, this Examinate and her mother had their firehouse broken, and all, or the moſt part of their linnen clothes, & halfe a peck of cut oat-meale, and a quantitie of meale gone, all which was worth twentie shillings or aboue: and vpon a Sunday then next after, this Examinate did take a band and a coife, parcell of the goods aforesaid, vpon the daughter of *Anne Whittle, alias Chattox*, and claimed them to be parcell of the goods ſtolne, as aforesaid.

And this Examinate further saith, That her father, called *Iohn Deuice*, being afraid, that the said *Anne Chattox* should doe him or his goods any hurt by Witchcraft;

craft; did couenant with the said *Anne*, that if she would hurt neither of them, she should yearely haue one Agh-en-dole of meale; which meale was yearely paid, vntill the yeare which her father died in, which was about eleuen yeares since: Her father vpon his then-death-bed, taking it that the said *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, did bewitch him to death, because the said meale was not paid the last yeare.

And she also saith, That about two yeares agone, this Examinate being in the house of *Anthony Nutter* of Pendle aforesaid, and being then in company with *Anne Nutter*, daughter of the said *Anthony*: the said *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, came into the said *Anthony Nutters* house, and seeing this Examinate, and the said *Anne Nutter* laughing, and saying, that they laughed at her the said *Chattox*: well said then (sayes *Anne Chattox*) I will be meet with the one of you. And vpon the next day after, she the said *Anne Nutter* fell sicke, and within three weekes after died. And further, this Examinate saith, That about two yeares agoe, she, this Examinate, hath heard, That the said *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, was suspected for bewitching the drinke of *Iohn Moore* of Higham Gentleman: and not long after, shee this Examinate heard the said *Chattox* say, that she would meet with the said *Iohn Moore*, or his. Whereupon a child of the said *Iohn Moores*, called *Iohn*, fell sicke, and anguished about halfe a yeare, and then died: during which languishing, this Examinate saw the said *Chattox* sitting in her owne garden, and a picture of Clay like vnto a child in her Apron; which this Examinate espying, the said *Anne Chattox* would haue hidde with her Apron: and this Examinate declaring the same to her mother, her

mother

mother thought it was the picture of the said *Iohn Moores* childe.

And she this Examinate further saith, That about sixe or seuen yeares agoe, the said *Chattox* did fall out with one *Hugh Moore* of Pendle, as aforesaid, about certaine cattell of the said *Moores*, which the said *Moore* did charge the said *Chattox* to haue bewitched: for which the said *Chattox* did curse and worry the said *Moore*, and said she would be Reuenged of the said *Moore*: whereupon the said *Moore* presently fell sicke, and languished about halfe a yeare, and then died. Which *Moore* vpon his death-bed said, that the said *Chattox* had bewitched him to death. And she further saith, That about sixe yeares agoe, a daughter of the said *Anne Chattox*, called *Elizabeth*, hauing been at the house of *Iohn Nutter* of the Bull-hole, to begge or get a dish full of milke, which she had, and brought to her mother, who was about a fields breadth of the said *Nutters* house, which her said mother *Anne Chattox* tooke and put into a Kan, and did charne the same with two stickes acrosse in the same field: whereupon the said *Iohn Nutters* sonne came vnto her, the said *Chattox*, and misliking her doings, put the said Kan and milke ouer with his foot; and the morning next after, a Cow of the said *Iohn Nutters* fell sicke, and so languished three or foure dayes, and then died.

In the end being openly charged with all this in open Court; with weeping teares she humbly acknowledged them to be true, and cried out vnto God for Mercy and forgiuenesse of her sinnes, and humbly prayed my Lord to be mercifull vnto *Anne Redfearne* her daughter, of whose life and condition you shall heare more vpon

her Arraignement and Triall : whereupon shee being taken away, *Elizabeth Deuice* comes now to receiue her Triall being the next in order, of whom you shall heare at large.

THE

THE ARRAIGNMENT

and Triall of ELIZABETH DEVICE (*Daughter of* ELIZABETH SOTHERNES, alias OLD DEMBDIKE) *late wife of* IO. DEVICE, *of the Forreſt of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaſter, widow, for Witchcraft; Vpon Tuesday the eighteenth of Auguſt, at the Aſsises and generall Gaole-Deliuerie holden at Lancaſter*

Before

Sir EDVVARD BROMLEY *Knight, one of his Maieſties Iuſtices of Aſsise at Lancaſter.*

Elizabeth Deuice.

O Barbarous and inhumane Monſter, beyond example; ſo farre from ſensible vnderſtanding of thy owne miſerie, as to bring thy owne naturall children into miſchiefe and bondage; and thy ſelfe to be a witneſse vpon the Gallowes, to ſee thy owne children, by thy deuillish inſtructions hatcht vp in Villanie and Witchcraft, to ſuffer with thee, euen in the beginning of their time, a ſhamefull and vntimely Death. Too much (ſo it be true) cannot be ſaid or written of her. Such was her life and condition: that euen at the Barre, when ſhee came to receiue her Triall (where the

leaſt sparke of Grace or modeſtie would haue procured fauour, or moued pitie) she was not able to containe her selfe within the limits of any order or gouernment: but exclaiming, in very outragious manner crying out against her owne children, and such as came to prosecute Indictments & Euidence for the Kings Maieſtie against her, for the death of their Children, Friends, and Kinsfolkes, whome cruelly and bloudily, by her Enchauntments, Charmes, and Sorceries she had murthered and cut off; sparing no man with fearefull execrable curses and banning: Such in generall was the common opinion of the Countrey where she dwelt, in the Forreſt of Pendle (a place fit for people of such condition) that no man neere her, neither his wife, children, goods, or cattell should be secure or free from danger.

This *Elizabeth Deuice* was the daughter of *Elizabeth Sothernes*, old *Dembdike*, a malicious, wicked, and dangerous Witch for fiftie yeares, as appeareth by Record: and how much longer, the Deuill and shee knew beſt, with whome shee made her couenant.

It is very certaine, that amongſt all these Witches there was not a more dangerous and deuillish Witch to execute mischiefe, hauing old *Dembdike*, her mother, to assiſt her; *Iames Deuice* and *Alizon Deuice*, her owne naturall children, all prouided with Spirits, vpon any occasion of offence readie to assiſt her.

Vpon her Examination, although Maſter *Nowel* was very circumspect, and exceeding carefull in dealing with her, yet she would confesse nothing, vntill it pleased God to raise vp a yong maid, *Iennet Deuice*, her owne daughter, about the age of nine yeares (a witnesse vnexpected) to discouer all their Practises, Meetings, Consultations,

ſultations, Murthers, Charmes, and Villanies: ſuch, and in ſuch ſort, as I may iuſtly ſay of them, as a reuerend and learned Iudge of this Kingdome ſpeaketh of the greateſt Treaſon that euer was in this Kingdome, *Quis hæc poſteris ſic narrare poterit, vt facta non ficta eſſe videantur?* That when theſe things ſhall be related to Poſteritie, they will be reputed matters fained, not done.

And then knowing, that both *Iennet Deuice*, her daughter, *Iames Deuice*, her ſonne, and *Alizon Deuice*, with others, had accuſed her and layd open all things, in their Examinations taken before Maſter *Nowel*, and although ſhe were their owne naturall mother, yet they did not ſpare to accuſe her of euery particular fact, which in her time ſhe had committed, to their knowledge; ſhe made a very liberall and voluntarie Confeſſion, as hereafter ſhall be giuen in euidence againſt her, vpon her Arraignment and Triall.

This *Elizabeth Deuice* being at libertie, after Old *Dembdike* her mother, *Alizon Deuice*, her daughter, and old *Chattocks* were committed to the Caſtle of Lancaſter for Witchcraft; laboured not a little to procure a ſolemne meeting at Malkyn-Tower of the Graund Witches of the Counties of Lancaſter and Yorke, being yet vnſuſpected and vntaken, to conſult of ſome ſpeedie courſe for the deliuerance of their friends, the Witches at Lancaſter, and for the putting in execution of ſome other deuillish practiſes of Murther and Miſchiefe: as vpon the Arraignement and Triall of *Iames Deuice*, her ſonne, ſhall hereafter in euery particular point appeare at large againſt her.

The first Indictment.

THis *Elizabeth Deuice*, late the wife of *Iohn Deuice*, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster Widdow, being indicted, for that shee felloniously had practized, vsed, and exercised diuers wicked and deuillish Arts, called *Witch-crafts*, *Inchantments*, *Charmes*, and *Sorceries*, in, and vpon one *Iohn Robinson*, alias *Swyer:* and by force of the same felloniously, the said *Iohn Rabinson*, alias *Swyer*, had killed. *Contra pacem*, *&c.* being at the Barre was arraigned.

2. Indictment.

The said *Elizabeth Deuice* was the second time indicted in the same manner and forme, for the death of *Iames Robinson*, by Witch-craft. *Contra pacem*, *&c.*

3. Indictment.

The said *Elizabeth Deuice*, was the third time with others, *viz.* *Alice Nutter*, and *Elizabeth Sothernes*, alias *Old-Dembdike*, her Grand-mother, Indicted in the same manner and forme, for the death of *Henrie Mytton*. *Contra pacem*, *&c.*

To these three seuerall Indictments vpon her Arraignement, shee pleaded not guiltie; and for the tryall of her life, put her selfe vpon God and her Countrie.

So as now the Gentlemen of the Iurie of life and death, stand charged to finde, whether shee bee guiltie of them, or any of them.

Where-

Whereupon there was openly read, and giuen in euidence againſt her, for the Kings Majeſtie, her owne voluntarie Confeſſion and Examination, when ſhee was apprehended, taken, and committed to the Caſtle of Lancaſter by M. *Nowel*, and M. *Banneſter*, two of his Maieſties Iuſtices of Peace in the ſame Countie. *viz.*

The Examination and voluntarie confeſſion of ELIZABETH DEVICE, *taken at the houſe of* IAMES WILSEY *of the Forreſt of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaſter, the ſeuen and twentieth day of Aprill: Anno Reg.* IACOBI, *Angl. &c. decimo, & Scotiæ* xlv.

Before

ROGER NOWEL, *and* NICHOLAS BANNESTER, *Eſquires; two of his Maieſties Iuſtices of the Peace within the ſame Countie.* viz.

The ſaid *Elizabeth Deuice*, Mother of the ſaid *Iames*, being examined, confeſſeth and ſaith.

THat at the third time her Spirit, the Spirit *Ball*, appeared to her in the ſhape of a browne Dogge, at, or in her Mothers houſe in Pendle Forreſt aforeſaid: about foure yeares agoe the ſaid Spirit bidde this Examinate make a picture of Clay, after the ſaid *Iohn Robinſon*, alias *Swyer*, which this Examinate did make accordingly at the Weſt end of her ſaid Mothers houſe, and dryed the ſame picture with the fire, and crumbled all the ſame picture away within a weeke or thereabouts, and about a weeke

weeke after the Picture was crumbled or mulled away; the said *Robinson* dyed.

The reason wherefore shee this Examinate did so bewitch the said *Robinson* to death, was: for that the said *Robinson* had chidden and becalled this Examinate, for hauing a Bastard-child with one *Seller*.

And this Examinate further saith and confesseth, that shee did bewitch the said *Iames Robinson* to death, as in the said *Iennet Deuice* her examination is confessed.

And further shee saith, and confesseth, that shee with the wife of *Richard Nutter*, and this Examinates said Mother, ioyned altogether, and did bewitch the said *Henrie Mytton* to death.

The Examination and Euidence of IENNET DEVICE, *Daughter of the said* ELIZABETH DEVICE, *late Wife of* IOHN DEVICE, *of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster.*

Against

ELIZABETH DEVICE *her Mother, Prisoner at the Barre vpon her Arraignement and Triall.* viz.

THe said *Iennet Deuice*, being a yong Maide, about the age of nine yeares, and commanded to stand vp to giue euidence against her Mother, Prisoner at the Barre: Her Mother, according to her accustomed manner, outragiously cursing, cryed out against the child in such fearefull manner, as all the Court did not a little wonder at her, and so amazed the child, as with weeping teares

shee

ſhee cryed out vnto my Lord the Iudge, and told him, ſhee was not able to ſpeake in the preſence of her Mother.

This odious Witch was branded with a preposterous marke in Nature, euen from her birth, which was her left eye, ſtanding lower then the other; the one looking downe, the other looking vp, ſo ſtrangely deformed, as the beſt that were preſent in that Honorable aſſembly, and great Audience, did affirme, they had not often ſeene the like.

No intreatie, promiſe of fauour, or other reſpect, could put her to ſilence, thinking by this her outragious curſing and threatning of the child, to inforce her to denie that which ſhe had formerly confeſſed againſt her Mother, before M. *Nowel:* Forſwearing and denying her owne voluntarie confeſſion, which you haue heard, giuen in euidence againſt her at large, and ſo for want of further euidence to eſcape that, which the Iuſtice of the Law had prouided as a condigne puniſhment for the innocent bloud ſhee had ſpilt, and her wicked and deuillish courſe of life.

In the end, when no meanes would ſerue, his Lordſhip commanded the Priſoner to be taken away, and the Maide to bee ſet vpon the Table in the preſence of the whole Court, who deliuered her euidence in that Honorable aſſembly, to the Gentlemen of the Iurie of life and death, as followeth. *viz.*

Iennet Deuice, Daughter of *Elizabeth Deuice*, late Wife of *Iohn Deuice*, of the Forreſt of Pendle aforeſaid Widdow, confeſſeth and ſaith, that her ſaid Mother is a Witch, and that this ſhee knoweth to be true; for, that

shee hath seene her Spirit sundrie times come vnto her said Mother in her owne house, called *Malking-Tower*, in the likenesse of a browne Dogge, which shee called *Ball*; and at one time amongst others, the said *Ball* did aske this Examinates Mother what she would haue him to doe: and this Examinates Mother answered, that she would haue the said *Ball* to helpe her to kill *Iohn Robinson* of *Barley*, alias *Swyre*: by helpe of which said *Ball*, the said *Swyer* was killed by witch-craft accordingly; and that this Examinates Mother hath continued a Witch for these three or foure yeares last past. And further, this Examinate confesseth, that about a yeare after, this Examinates Mother called for the said *Ball*, who appeared as aforesaid, asking this Examinates Mother what shee would haue done, who said, that shee would haue him to kill *Iames Robinson*, alias *Swyer*, of Barlow aforesaid, Brother to the said *Iohn*: whereunto *Ball* answered, hee would doe it; and about three weekes after, the said *Iames* dyed.

Her Spirit.

And this Examinate also saith, that one other time shee was present, when her said Mother did call for the said *Ball*, who appeared in manner as aforesaid, and asked this Examinates Mother what shee would haue him to doe, whereunto this Examinates Mother then said shee would haue him to kill one *Mitton* of the Rough-Lee, whereupon the said *Ball* said, he would doe it; and so vanished away, and about three weekes after, the said *Mitton* likewise dyed.

The

The Examination of IAMES DEVICE,

ſonne of the ſaid ELIZABETH DEVICE: *Taken the ſeuen and twentieth day of of Aprill*, Annoq; Reg. Regis IACOBI Angliæ, &c. Decimo ac Scociæ, xlv.

Before

ROGER NOVVEL *and* NICHOLAS BANESTER, *Eſquires, two of his Maieſties Iuſtices of the Peace, within the ſaid Countie*. viz.

THe ſaid *Iames Deuice* being examined, ſaith, That he heard his Grand-mother ſay, about a yeare agoe, That his mother, called *Elizabeth Deuice*, and others, had killed one *Henry Mitton* of the Rough-Lee aforeſaid, by Witchcraft. The reaſon wherefore he was ſo killed, was for that this Examinates ſaid Grand-mother *Old Demdike*, had asked the ſaid *Mitton* a penny; and he denying her thereof, thereupon ſhe procured his death, as aforeſaid.

And he, this Examinate alſo ſaith, That about three yeares ago, this Examinate being in his Grand-mothers houſe, with his ſaid mother; there came a thing in ſhape of a browne dogge, which his mother called *Ball*, who ſpake to this Examinates mother, in the ſight and hearing of this Examinate, and bad her make a Picture of Clay like vnto *Iohn Robinſon*, alias *Swyer*, and drie it hard, and then crumble it by little and little; and as the ſaid Picture ſhould crumble or mull away, ſo ſhould the ſaid *Io. Robinſon* alias *Swyer* his body decay and weare away. And within two or three dayes after, the Picture ſhall ſo all be waſted, and mulled away; ſo then the ſaid *Iohn Robinſon* ſhould die preſently. Vpon the agreement be-

twixt the said dogge and this Examinates mother; the said dogge suddenly vanished out of this Examinates sight. And the next day, this Examinate saw his said mother take Clay at the West-end of her said house, and make a Picture of it after the said *Robinson*, and brought into her house, and dried it some two dayes: and about two dayes after the drying thereof, this Examinates said mother fell on crumbling the said Picture of Clay, euery day some, for some three weekes together; and within two dayes after all was crumbled or mulled away, the said *Iohn Robinson* died.

Being demanded by the Court, what answere shee could giue to the particular points of the Euidence against her, for the death of these seuerall persons; Impudently shee denied them, crying out against her children, and the rest of the Witnesses against her.

But because I haue charged her to be the principall Agent, to procure a solemne meeting at *Malking-Tower* of the Grand-witches, to consult of some speedy course for the deliuerance of her mother, *Old Demdike*, her daughter, and other Witches at Lancaster: the speedie Execution of Master *Couell*, who little suspected or deserued any such practise or villany against him: The blowing vp of the Castle, with diuers other wicked and diuellish practises and murthers; I shall make it apparant vnto you, by the particular Examinations and Euidence of her owne children, such as were present at the time of their Consultation, together with her owne Examination and Confession, amongst the Records of the Crowne at Lancaster, as hereafter followeth.

The

The voluntary Confeſſion and Examination of ELIZABETH DEVICE, *taken at the houſe of* IAMES WILSEY, *of the Forreſt of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaſter, the ſeuen and twentieth day of Aprill*, Annoq; Reg. Regis IACOBI Angliæ, &c. Decimo, & Scotiæ Quadragesimo quinto.

Before

ROGER NOVVEL and NICHOLAS BANISTER, *Eſquires, two of his Maieſties Iuſtices of the Peace within the ſame Countie.* viz.

THe ſaid *Elizabeth Deuice* being further Examined, confeſſeth that vpon Good-Friday laſt, there dined at this Examinates houſe, called *Malking-Tower*, thoſe which ſhe hath ſaid are Witches, and doth verily think them to be Witches : and their names are thoſe whom *Iames Deuice* hath formerly ſpoken of to be there. And ſhe further ſaith, that there was alſo at her ſaid mothers houſe, at the day and time aforeſaid, two women of Burneley Parish, whoſe names the wife of *Richard Nutter* doth know. And there was likewiſe there one *Anne Crouckſhey* of Marſden : And ſhee alſo confeſſeth, in all things touching the Chriſtening of the Spirit, and the killing of Maſter *Liſter* of Weſtbie, as the ſaid *Iames Deuice* hath before confeſſed ; but denieth of any talke was amongſt them the ſaid Witches, to her now remembrance, at the ſaid meeting together, touching the killing of the Galoer, or the blowing vp of Lancaſter Caſtle.

The Examination and Euidence of IENNET DEVICE, *daughter of the said* ELIZABETH DEVICE, *late wife of* IOHN DEVICE, *of the Forreſt of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaſter.*

Againſt

ELIZABETH DEVICE, *her Mother, prisoner at the Barre, vpon her Arraignement and Triall*, viz.

THe said *Iennet Deuice* saith, That vpon Good Friday laſt there was about twentie persons (whereof onely two were men, to this Examinates remembrance) at her said Grandmothers house, called Malking-Tower aforesaid, about twelue of the clocke: all which persons this Examinates said mother told her, were Witches, and that they came to giue a name to *Alizon Deuice* Spirit, or Familiar, sister to this Examinate, and now prisoner at Lancaſter. And also this Examinate saith, That the persons aforesaid had to their dinners Beefe, Bacon, and roaſted Mutton; which Mutton (as this Examinates said brother said) was of a Wether of *Chriſtopher Swyers* of Barley: which Wether was brought in the night before into this Examinates mothers house by the said *Iames Deuice*, this Examinates said brother: and in this Examinates sight killed and eaten, as aforesaid. And she further saith, That shee knoweth the names of sixe of the said Witches, *viz.* the wife of *Hugh Hargraues* vnder Pendle, *Chriſtopher Howgate* of Pendle, vnckle to this Examinate, and *Elizabeth* his wife, and *Dicke Miles* his wife of the Rough-Lee; *Chriſtopher Iackes* of Thorny-holme, and his wife: and the names of

of the residue shee this Examinate doth not know, sauing that this Examinates mother and brother were both there. And laſtly, she this Examinate confesseth and saith, That her mother hath taught her two prayers: the one to cure the bewitched, and the other to get drinke; both which particularly appeare.

The Examination and Euidence of

IAMES DEVICE, *sonne of the said* ELIZABETH DEVICE, *late wife of* IOHN DEVICE, *of the Forreſt of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaſter.*

Againſt

ELIZABETH DEVICE, *his Mother, prisoner at the Barre, vpon her Arraignement and Triall*, viz.

THe said *Iames Deuice* saith, That on Good-Friday laſt, about twelue of the clocke in the day time, there dined in this Examinates said mothers house, at Malking-Tower, a number of persons, whereof three were men, with this Examinate, and the reſt women; and that they met there for three causes following (as this Examinates said mother told this Examinate) The firſt was, for the naming of the Spirit, which *Alizon Deuice*, now prisoner at Lancaſter, had: But did not name him, because shee was not there. The second was, for the deliuerie of his said Grandmother, olde *Dembdike*; this Examinates said sister *Allizon*; the said

Anne

Anne Chattox, and her daughter *Redferne*; killing the Gaoler at Lancaster; and before the next Assises to blow vp the Castle there: and to that end the aforesaid prisoners might by that time make an escape, and get away. All which this Examinate then heard them conferre of.

And he also sayth, That the names of the said Witches as were on Good-Friday at this Examinates said Grandmothers house, and now this Examinates owne mothers, for so many of them as hee did know, were these, *viz.* The wife of *Hugh Hargreiues* of Burley; the wife of *Christopher Bulcock*, of the Mosse end, and *Iohn* her sonne; the mother of *Myles Nutter*; *Elizabeth*, the wife of *Christopher Hargreiues*, of Thurniholme; *Christopher Howgate*, and *Elizabeth*, his wife; *Alice Graye* of Coulne, and one *Mould-heeles* wife, of the same: and this Examinate, and his Mother. And this Examinate further sayth, That all the Witches went out of the said House in their owne shapes and likenesses. And they all, by that they were forth of the dores, gotten on Horsebacke, like vnto Foales, some of one colour, some of another; and *Prestons* wife was the last: and when shee got on Horsebacke, they all presently vanished out of this Examinates sight. And before their said parting away, they all appointed to meete at the said *Prestons* wiues house that day twelue-moneths; at which time the said *Prestons* wife promised to make them a great Feast. And if they had occasion to meete in the meane time, then should warning be giuen, that they all should meete vpon *Romleyes* Moore.

Executed at Yorke the last Assises.

And

And here they parted, with resolution to execute their deuillish and bloudie practises, for the deliuerance of their friends, vntill they came to meete here, where their power and strength was gone. And now finding her Meanes was gone, shee cryed out for Mercie. Whereupon shee being taken away, the next in order was her sonne *Iames Deuice*, whom shee and her Mother, old *Dembdike*, brought to act his part in this wofull Tragedie.

H THE

THE ARRAIGNMENT

and Triall of IAMES DEVICE,

Sonne of ELIZABETH DEVICE, *of the Forrest of Pendle, within the Countie of Lancaster aforesaid, Laborer, for Witchcraft; Vpon Tuesday the eighteenth of August, at the Assises and generall Gaole-Deliuerie holden at Lancaster*

Before

Sir EDVVARD BROMLEY *Knight, one of his Maiesties Iustices of Assise at Lancaster.*

Iames Deuice.

THis wicked and miserable Wretch, whether by practise, or meanes, to bring himselfe to some vntimely death, and thereby to auoide his Tryall by his Countrey, and iust iudgement of the Law; or ashamed to bee openly charged with so many deuillish practises, and so much innocent bloud as hee had spilt; or by reason of his Imprisonment so long time before his Tryall (which was with more fauour, commiseration, and reliefe then hee deserued) I know not: But being brought forth to the Barre,

Barre, to receiue his Triall before this worthie Iudge, and so Honourable and Worshipfull an Assembly of Iuſtices for this ſeruice, was so insensible, weake, and vnable in all thinges, as he could neither speake, heare, or ſtand, but was holden vp when hee was brought to the place of his Arraignement, to receiue his triall.

This *Iames Deuice* of the Forreſt of Pendle, being brought to the Barre, was there according to the forme, order, and course, Indicted and Arraigned; for that hee Felloniously had practised, vsed, and exercised diuers wicked and deuillish Arts, called *Witch-crafts*, *Inchauntments*, *Charmes*, and *Sorceries*, in, and vpon one *Anne Towneley*, wife of *Henrie Towneley* of the Carre, in the Countie of Lancaſter Gentleman, and her by force of the same, felloniously had killed. *Contra pacem, &c.*

The said *Iames Deuice* was the second time Indicted and Arraigned in the same manner and forme, for the death of *Iohn Duckworth*, by witch-craft. *Contra pacem, &c.*

To these two seuerall Indictments vpon his Arraignment, he pleaded not guiltie, and for the triall of his life put himselfe vpon God and his Countrie.

So as now the Gentlemen of the Iurie of life & death ſtand charged to finde, whether he be guiltie of these, or either of them.

Whereupon Maſter *Nowel* humbly prayed Maſter *Towneley* might be called, who attended to prosecute and giue euidence againſt him for the Kings Majeſtie, and that the particular Examinations taken before him and others, might be openly published & read in Court, in the hearing of the Prisoner.

But because it were infinite to bring him to his particular Triall for euery offence, which hee hath committed in his time, and euery practice wherein he hath had his hand: I shall proceede in order with the Euidence remayning vpon Record against him, amongst the Records of the Crowne; both how, and in what sort hee came to be a witch: and shew you what apparant proofe there is to charge him with the death of these two feuerall persons, for the which hee now standeth vpon his triall for al the rest of his deuillish practises, incantations, murders, charmes, sorceries, meetings to consult with Witches, to execute mischiefe (take them as they are against him vpon Record:) Enough, I doubt not. For these with the course of his life will serue his turne to deliuer you from the danger of him that neuer tooke felicitie in any things, but in reuenge, bloud, & mischiefe with crying out vnto God for vengeance; which hath now at the length brought him to the place where hee standes to receiue his Triall with more honor, fauour, and respect, then such a Monster in Nature doth deserue; And I doubt not, but in due time by the Iustice of the Law, to an vntimely and shamefull death.

The

The Examination of IAMES DEVICE,

ſonne of ELIZABETH DEVICE, *of the Forreſt of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaſter, Labourer. Taken the ſeuen and twentieth day of Aprill, Annoq; Reg. Regis* IACOBI, *Angliæ, &c.* xº. *& Scotiæ Quadragesimo quinto.*

Before

ROGER NOWEL, *and* NICHOLAS BANNESTER, *Esquires: two of his Maieſties Iuſtices of Peace within the ſaid Countie.*

HE ſaith, that vpon Sheare Thursday was two yeares, his Grand-Mother *Elizabeth Sothernes*, alias *Dembdike*, did bid him this Examinate goe to the church to receiue the Communion (the next day after being Good Friday) and then not to eate the Bread the Miniſter gaue him, but to bring it and deliuer it to ſuch a thing as ſhould meet him in his way homewards: Notwithſtanding her perswasions, this Examinate did eate the Bread: and ſo in his comming homeward some fortie roodes off the ſaid Church, there met him a thing in the ſhape of a Hare, who ſpoke vnto this Examinate, and asked him whether hee had brought the Bread that his Grand-mother had bidden him, or no? whereupon this Examinate answered, hee had not: and thereupon the ſaid thing threatned to pull this Examinate in peeces, and ſo this Examinate thereupon marked himſelfe to God, and ſo the ſaid thing vaniſhed out of this Examinates ſight. And within ſome foure daies after that, there appeared in this Examinates ſight, hard by the new Church in Pendle, a thing like vnto a browne

Dogge, who asked this Examinate to giue him his Soule, and he should be reuenged of any whom hee would: whereunto this Examinate answered, that his Soule was not his to giue, but was his *Sauiour Iesus Christs*, but as much as was in him this Examinate to giue, he was contented he should haue it.

And within two or three daies after, this Examinate went to the Carre-Hall, and vpon some speeches betwixt Mistris *Towneley* and this Examinate; Shee charging this Examinate and his said mother, to haue stolne some Turues of hers, badde him packe the doores: and withall as he went forth of the doore, the said Mistris *Towneley* gaue him a knock betweene the shoulders: and about a day or two after that, there appeared vnto this Examinate in his way, a thing like vnto a black dog, who put this Examinate in minde of the said Mistris *Towneleyes* falling out with him this Examinate; who bad this Examinate make a Picture of Clay, like vnto the said Mistris *Towneley*: and that this Examinate with the helpe of his Spirit (who then euer after bidde this Examinate to call it *Dandy*) would kill or destroy the said Mistris *Towneley*: and so the said dogge vanished out of this Examinates sight. And the next morning after, this Examinate tooke Clay, and made a Picture of the said Mistris *Towneley*, and dried it the same night by the fire: and within a day after, hee, this Examinate began to crumble the said Picture, euery day some, for the space of a weeke: and within two daies after all was crumbled away; the said Mistris *Towneley* died.

And hee further saith, That in Lent last one *Iohn Duckworth* of the Lawnde, promised this Examinate an old shirt: and within a fortnight after, this Examinate went

went to the said *Duckworthes* house, and demanded the said old shirt; but the said *Duckworth* denied him thereof. And going out of the said house, the said Spirit *Dandy* appeared vnto this Examinate, and said, Thou didſt touch the said *Duckworth*; whereunto this Examinate answered, he did not touch him: yes (said the Spirit againe) thou didſt touch him, and therefore I haue power of him: whereupon this Examinate ioyned with the said Spirit, and then wished the said Spirit to kill the said *Duckworth*: and within one weeke, then next after, *Duckworth* died.

This voluntary Confession and Examination of his owne, containing in it selfe matter sufficient in Law to charge him, and to proue his offences, contained in the two seuerall Indictments, was sufficient to satisfie the Gentlemen of the Iury of Life and Death, that he is guiltie of them, and either of them: yet my Lord *Bromley* commanded, for their better satisfaction, that the Witnesses present in Court againſt any of the Prisoners, should be examined openly, *viua voce*, that the Prisoner might both heare and answere to euery particular point of their Euidence; notwithſtanding any of their Examinations taken before any of his Maieſties Iuſtices of Peace within the same Countie.

Herein do but obſerue the wonderfull work of God; to raise vp a yong Infant, the very ſiſter of the Prisonr, *Iennet Deuice*, to discouer, iuſtifie and proue these things againſt him, at the time of his Arraignement and Triall, as hereafter followeth. *viz.*

The

The Examination and Euidence of IENNET DEVICE *daughter of* ELIZABETH DEVICE, *late wife of* IOHN DEVICE *of of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster.*

Against

IAMES DEVICE, *Prisoner at the Barre, vpon his Arraignement and Triall.* viz.

BEing examined in open Court, she saith, That her brother *Iames Deuice*, the Prisoner at the Barre, hath beene a Witch for the space of three yeares: about the beginning of which time, there appeared vnto him, in this Examinates mothers house, a Black-Dogge, which
Dandy. her said brother called *Dandy*. And further, this Examinate confesseth, & saith: That her said brother about a twelue month since, in the presence of this Examinate, and in the house aforesaid, called for the said *Dandy*, who thereupon appeared; asking this Examinates brother what he would haue him to doe. This Examinates brother then said, he would haue him to helpe him to kill old Mistris *Towneley* of the Carre: whereunto the said *Dandy* answered, and said, That her said brother should haue his best helpe for the doing of the same; and that her said brother, and the said *Dandy*, did both in this Examinates hearing, say, they would make away the said Mistris *Towneley*. And about a weeke after, this Examinate comming to the Carre-Hall, saw the said Mistris *Towneley* in the Kitchin there, nothing well: whereupon it came into this Examinates minde, that her said brother, by the help of *Dandy*, had brought the said Mistris *Towneley* into the state she then was in.

Which

Which Examinat, although she were but very yong, yet it was wonderfull to the Court, in so great a Presence and Audience, with what modeſtie, gouernement, and vnderſtanding, shee deliuered this Euidence againſt the Prisoner at the Barre, being her owne naturall brother, which he himselfe could not deny, but there acknowledged in euery particular to be iuſt and true.

But behold a little further, for here this bloudy Monſter did not ſtay his hands: for besides his wicked and diuellish Spels, practises, meetings to consult of murder and mischiefe, which (by Gods grace) hereafter shall follow in order againſt him; there is yet more bloud to be laid vnto his charge. For although he were but yong, and in the beginning of his Time, yet was he carefull to obserue his Inſtructions from *Old Demdike* his Grandmother, and *Elizabeth Deuice* his mother, in so much that no time should passe since his firſt entrance into that damnable Arte and exercise of Witchcrafts, Inchantments, Charmes and Sorceries, without mischiefe or murder. Neither should any man vpon the leaſt occasion of offence giuen vnto him, escape his hands, without some danger. For these particulars were no sooner giuen in Euidence againſt him, when he was againe Indicted and Arraigned for the murder of these two. *viz.*

Iames Deuice of the Forreſt of Pendle aforesaid, in the Countie of Lancaſter, Labourer, the third time Indicted and Arraigned for the death of *Iohn Hargraues* of Gould-shey-booth, in the Countie of Lancaſter, by Witchcraft, as aforesaid. *Contra &c.*

To this Inditement vpon his Arraignement, he pleaded thereunto not guiltie: and for his Triall put himselfe vpon God and his Countrey, &c.

Iames Deuice of the Forrest of Pendle aforesaid, in the County of Lancaster, Labourer, the fourth time Indicted and Arraigned for the death of *Blaze Hargreues* of Higham, in the Countie of Lancaster, by Witchcraft, as aforesaid. *Contra Pacem*, &c.

To this Indictment vpon his Arraignement, he pleaded thereunto not guiltie; and for the Triall of his life, put himselfe vpon God and the Countrey. &c.

Hereupon *Iennet Deuice* produced, sworne and examined, as a witnesse on his Maiesties behalfe, against the said *Iames Deuice*, was examined in open Court, as followeth. *viz.*

The Examination and Euidence of IENNET DEVICE *aforesaid.*

Against

IAMES DEVICE, *her brother, Prisoner at the Barre, vpon his Arraignement and Triall.* viz.

BEing sworne and examined in open Court, she saith, That her brother *Iames Deuice* hath beene a Witch for the space of three yeares: about the beginning of which time, there appeared vnto him, in this Examinates mothers house, a Blacke-Dogge, which her said brother called *Dandy*, which *Dandy* did aske her said brother what he would haue him to doe, whereunto he answered, hee would haue him to kill *Iohn Hargreiues*, of Gold-shey-booth: whereunto *Dandy* answered that he would doe it; since which time the said *Iohn* is dead.

And

And at another time this Examinate confeſſeth and ſaith, That her ſaid brother did call the ſaid *Dandy*: who thereupon appeared in the ſaid houſe, aſking this Examinates brother what hee would haue him to doe: whereupon this Examinates ſaid brother ſaid, he would haue him to kill *Blaze Hargreiues* of Higham: whereupon *Dandy* anſwered, hee ſhould haue his beſt helpe, and ſo vaniſhed away: and ſhee ſaith, that ſince that time the ſaid *Hargreiues* is dead; but how long after, this Examinate doth not now remember.

All which things, when he heard his ſiſter vpon her Oath affirme, knowing them in his conſcience to bee iuſt and true, ſlenderly denyed them, and thereupon inſiſted.

To this Examination were diuerſe witneſſes examined in open Court *viua voce*, concerning the death of the parties, in ſuch manner and forme, and at ſuch time as the ſaid *Iennet Deuice* in her Euidence hath formerly declared to the Court.

Which is all, and I doubt not but matter ſufficient in Law to charge him with, for the death of theſe parties.

For the proofe of his Practiſes, Charmes, Meetings at Malking-Tower, to conſult with Witches to execute miſchiefe, Maſter *Nowel* humbly prayed, his owne Examination, taken and certified, might openly be read; and the reſt in order, as they remaine vpon Record amongſt the Records of the Crowne at Lancaſter: as hereafter followeth, *viz.*

The Examination of IAMES DEVICE, *Sonne of* ELIZABETH DEVICE, *of the Forrest of Pendle: Taken the seuen and twentieth day of Aprill aforesaid,*

Before

ROGER NOVVEL *and* NICHOLAS BANESTER *Esquires, two of his Maiesties Iustices of Peace within the said Countie*, viz.

AND being examined, he further saith, That vpon Sheare-Thursday last, in the euening, he this Examinate stole a Wether from *Iohn Robinson* of Barley, and brought it to his Grand-mothers house, old *Dembdike*, and there killed it: and that vpon the day following, being Good-Friday, about twelue of the clocke in the day time, there dined in this Examinates mothers house a number of persons, whereof three were men, with this Examinate, and the rest women; and that they met there for three Causes following, as this Examinates said Mother told this Examinate.

1 The first was, for the naming of the Spirit which *Alizon Deuice*, now prisoner at Lancaster, had, but did not name him, because she was not there.

2 The second Cause was, for the deliuerie of his said Grand-mother; this Examinates said sister *Alizon*; the said *Anne Chattox*, and her daughter *Redferne*; killing the Gaoler at Lancaster; and before the next Assises to blow vp the Castle there, to the end the aforesaid persons might by that meanes make an escape & get away: all which this Examinate then heard them conferre of.

3 And the third Cause was, for that there was a woman

man dwelling in Gisborne Parish, who came into this Examinates said Grandmothers house, who there came and craued aſsiſtance of the reſt of them that were then there, for the killing of Maſter *Liſter* of Weſtby, because (as shee then said) he had borne malice vnto her, and had thought to haue put her away at the laſt Assises at Yorke, but could not: and this Examinate heard the said woman say, That her power was not ſtrong ynough to doe it her selfe, being now lesse then before time it had beene.

And also, that the said *Iennet Preſton* had a Spirit with her like vnto a white Foale, with a blacke spot in the forhead.

And he also saith, That the names of the said Witches as were on Good-Friday at this Examinates said Grandmothers house, & now this Examinates owne mothers, for so many of them as he did know, were these, *viz.* the wife of *Hugh Hargreiues* of Barley; the wife of *Chriſtopher Bulcock* of the Mosse end, and *Iohn* her sonne; the mother of *Myles Nutter*; *Elizabeth*, the wife of *Chriſtopher Hargreiues*, of Thurniholme; *Chriſtopher Howgate*, and *Elizabeth* his wife; *Alice Graye* of Coulne, and one *Mouldheeles* wife, of the same: and this Examinate, and his Mother. And this Examinate further saith, That all the said Witches went out of the said House in their owne shapes and likenesses. And they all, by that they were forth of the dores, were gotten on Horsebacke, like vnto Foales, some of one colour, some of another; and *Preſtons* wife was the laſt: and when shee got on Horsebacke, they all presently vanished out of this Examinates sight. And before their said parting away, they all appointed to meete at the said *Preſtons*

wiues house that day twelue-moneths; at which time the said *Prestons* wife promised to make them a great Feast. And if they had occasion to meete in the meane time, then should warning be giuen, that they all should meete vpon *Romleyes* Moore.

The Examination and Euidence of IENNET DEVICE.

Against

IAMES DEVICE *her said Brother, Prisoner at the Barre, vpon his Arraignement and Triall: Taken before* ROGER NOWEL, *and* NICHOLAS BANNESTER, *Esquires: two of his Maiesties Iustices of Peace within the said Countie.* viz.

SHee saith, that vpon Good-Friday last there was about twentie persons, whereof only two were men, to this Examinates remembrance, at her said Grandmothers house, called *Malking-Tower* aforesaid, about twelue of the clock: all which persons this Examinates said Mother told her were Witches, and that they came to giue a name to *Alizon Deuice* Spirit or Familiar, Sister to this Examinate, and now Prisoner, in the Castle of Lancaster: And also this Examinate saith, that the persons aforesaid had to their Dinners, Beefe, Bacon, and rosted Mutton, which Mutton, as this Examinates said brother said, was of a Weather of *Robinsons* of Barley: which Weather was brought in the night before into this Examinates mothers house, by the said *Iames Deuice* this

this Examinates ſaid brother, and in this Examinates ſight killed, and eaten, as aforeſaid: And ſhee further ſaith, that ſhee knoweth the names of ſixe of the ſaid Witches, *viz.* the wife of the ſaid *Hugh Hargreiues*, vnder Pendle: *Chriſtopher Howget*, of Pendle, Vncle to this Examinate: and *Dick Miles* wife, of the Rough-Lee: *Chriſtopher Iacks*, of Thorne-holme, and his Wife: and the names of the reſidue ſhee this Examinate doth not know, ſauing that this Examinates Mother and Brother were both there.

The Examination of ELIZABETH DEVICE, *Mother of the ſaid* IAMES DEVICE, *of the Forreſt of Pendle: taken the ſeuen and twentieth day of Aprill aforeſaid.*

Before

ROGER NOWEL, *and* NICHOLAS BANNESTER, *Eſquires; as aforeſaid.* viz.

BEing examined, the ſaid *Elizabeth* ſaith and confeſseth, that vpon Good-Friday laſt there dined at this Examinates houſe, thoſe which ſhe hath ſaid to be Witches, and doth verily thinke them to bee Witches, and their names are thoſe, whom *Iames Deuice* hath formerly ſpoken of to be there.

And ſhee alſo confeſſeth in all things touching the Chriſtning of her Spirit, and the killing of Maſter *Liſter* of Weſtby, as the ſaid *Iames Deuice* confeſſeth. But denieth that any talke was amongſt the thē ſaid Witches, to her now remembrance, at the ſaid meeting together, tou-

touching the killing of the Gaoler at Lancaſter; blowing vp of the Castle, thereby to deliuer old *Dembdike* her Mother; *Alizon Deuice* her Daughter, and other Prisoners, committed to the said Caſtle for Witchcraft.

After all these things opened, and deliuered in euidence againſt him; Maſter *Couil*, who hath the cuſtodie of the Gaole at Lancaſter, hauing taken great paines with him during the time of his imprisonment, to procure him to discouer his praſtizes, and such other Witches as he knew to bee dangerous: Humbly prayed the fauour of the Court, that his voluntarie confession to M. *Anderton*, M. *Sands* the Major of Lancaſter, M. *Couel*, and others, might openly bee published and declared in Court.

The voluntarie confession and declaration of IAMES DEVICE, *Prisoner in the Caſtle at Lancaſter.*

Before

WILLIAM SANDS, *Maior of Lancaſter*, IAMES ANDERTON, *Esquire, one of his Maieſties Iuſtices of Peace within the Countie of Lancaſter: And* THOMAS COVEL, *Gentleman, one of his Maieſties Coroners in the same Countie.* viz.

I *Ames Deuice*, Prisoner in the Caſtle at Lancaſter, saith; That his said Spirit *Dandie*, being very earneſt with him

him to giue him his soule, He answered, he would giue him that part thereof that was his owne to giue: and thereupon the said Spirit said, hee was aboue CHRIST IESVS, and therefore hee muſt absolutely giue him his Soule: and that done, hee would giue him power to reuenge himselfe againſt any whom he disliked.

And he further saith, that the said Spirit did appeare vnto him after sundrie times, in the likenesse of a Dogge, and at euery time moſt earneſtly perswaded him to giue him his Soule absolutely: who answered as before, that he would giue him his owne part and no further. And hee saith, that at the laſt time that the said Spirit was with him, which was the Tuesday next before his apprehension, when as hee could not preuaile with him to haue his Soule absolutely granted vnto him, as aforesaid; the said Spirit departed from him, then giuing a moſt fearefull crie and yell, and withall caused a great flash of fire to shew about him: which said Spirit did neuer after trouble this Examinate.

William Sands,
James Anderton.
Tho. Couel, Coroner.

The said *Iennet Deuice*, his Siſter, in the very end of her Examination againſt the said *Iames Deuice*, confesseth and saith, that her Mother taught her two Prayers: the one to get drinke, which was this. *viz.*

Crucifixus hoc signum vitam
Eternam. Amen.

And shee further saith, That her Brother *Iames Deuice*, the Prisoner at the Barre, hath confessed to her this Examinate, that he by this Prayer hath gotten drinke: and that within an houre after the saying the said Prayer, drinke hath come into the house after a very strange manner. And the other Prayer, the said *Iames Deuice* affirmed, would cure one bewitched, which shee recited as followeth. *viz.*

A Charme.

Vpon Good-Friday, I will fast while I may
Vntill I heare them knell
Our Lords owne Bell,
Lord in his messe
With his twelue Apostles good,
What hath he in his hand
Ligh in leath wand:
What hath he in his other hand?
Heauens doore key,
Open, open Heauen doore keyes,
Steck, steck hell doore.
Let Crizum child
Goe to it Mother mild,
What is yonder that casts a light so farrandly,
Mine owne deare Sonne that's naild to the Tree.
He is naild sore by the heart and hand,
And holy barne Panne,
Well is that man
That Fryday spell can,
His Childe to learne;
A Crosse of Blew, and another of Red,

As

As good Lord was to the Roode.
Gabriel *laid him downe to ſleepe*
Vpon the ground of holy weepe :
Good Lord came walking by,
Sleep'ſt thou, wak'ſt thou Gabriel,
No Lord I am ſted with ſticke and ſtake,
That I can neither ſleepe nor wake :
Riſe vp Gabriel *and goe with me,*
The ſtick nor the ſtake ſhall neuer deere thee.
Sweete Ieſus our Lord, Amen.

Iames Deuice.

What can be ſaid more of this painfull Steward, that was ſo carefull to prouide Mutton againſt this Feaſt and ſolemne meeting at *Malking-Tower*, of these hellish and diuellish band of Witches, (the like whereof hath not been heard of) then hath beene openly published and declared againſt him at the Barre, vpon his Arraigne-ment and Triall : wherein it pleased God to raise vp Witnesses beyond expectation to conuince him ; besides his owne particular Examinations, which being shewed and read vnto him; he acknowledged to be iuſt and true. And what I promised to set forth againſt him, in the be-ginning of his Arraignment and Triall, I doubt not but therein I haue satisfied your expectation at large, wherein I haue beene very sparing to charge him with any thing, but with sufficient matter of Record and E-uidence, able to satisfie the consciences of the Gentle-men of the Iury of Life and Death ; to whose good con-sideration I leaue him, with the perpetuall Badge and Brand of as dangerous and malicious a Witch, as euer liued in these parts of Lancashire, of his time : and spot-

ted with as much Innocent bloud, as euer any Witch of his yeares.

After all these proceedings, by direction of his Lordship, were their seuerall Examinations, subscribed by euery one of them in particular, shewed vnto them at the time of their Triall, & acknowledged by thē to be true, deliuered to the gentlemen of the Iury of Life & Death, for the better satisfaction of their consciences : after due consideration of which said seuerall examinations, confessions, and voluntary declarations, as well of themselues as of their children, friends and confederates, The Gentlemen deliuered vp their Verdict against the Prisoners, as followeth, *viz*.

The Verdict of Life and Death.

WHo found *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, *Elizabeth Deuice*, and *Iames Deuice*, guiltie of the seuerall murthers by Witchcraft, contained in the Indictments against them, and euery of them.

THE

THE WITCHES OF SALMESBVRY.

The Arraignement and Triall of IENNET BIERLEY ELLEN BIERLEY, *and* IANE SOVTHVVORTH *of Salmesbury, in the County of Lancaſter; for Witchcraft vpon the bodie of* GRACE SOVVERBVTTS, *vpon Wednesday the nineteenth of Auguſt: At the Aſsises and generall Gaole-deliuery, holden at Lancaſter.*

Before

Sir EDVVARD BROMLEY *Knight, one of his Maieſtices Iuſtices of Aſsize at Lancaſter: as hereafter followeth.* viz.

Iennet Bierley.
Ellen Bierley.
Iane Southworth.

THus haue we for a time left the Graund Witches of the Forreſt of Pendle, to the good conſideration of a verie ſufficient Iury of worthy Gentlemen of their Coūtrey. We are now come to the famous Witches of Salmesbury, as the Countrey called them,

who by such a subtill practise and conspiracie of a Seminarie Priest, or, as the best in this Honorable Assembly thinke, a Iesuite, whereof this Countie of Lancaster hath good store, who by reason of the generall entertainement they find, and great maintenance they haue, resort hither, being farre from the Eye of Iustice, and therefore, *Procul a fulmine*; are now brought to the Barre, to receiue their Triall, and such a young witnesse prepared and instructed to giue Euidence against them, that it must be the Act of GOD that must be the means to discouer their Practises and Murthers, and by an infant: but how and in what sort Almightie GOD deliuered them from the stroake of Death, when the Axe was layd to the Tree, and made frustrate the practise of this bloudie Butcher, it shall appeare vnto you vpon their Arraignement and Triall, whereunto they are now come.

Master *Thomas Couel*, who hath the charge of the prisoners in the Castle at Lancaster, was commaunded to bring forth the said

Iennet Bierley,
Ellen Bierley,
Iane Southworth,

to the Barre to receiue their Triall.

Indictment.

THe said *Iennet Bierley*, *Ellen Bierly*, and *Iane Southworth* of Salmesbury, in the Countie of Lancaster, be-

being indicted, for that they and euery of them feloniously had practised, exercised, and used diuerse deuillish and wicked Arts, called *Witchcrafts*, *Inchauntments*, *Charmes*, and *Sorceries*, in and vpon one *Grace Sowerbuts*: so that by meanes thereof her bodie wasted and consumed, *Contra formam Statuti &c. Et Contra Pacem dicti Domini Regis Coronam & dignitatem &c.*

To this Indictment vpon their Arraignement, they pleaded *Not-Guiltie*; and for the Triall of their liues put themselues vpon GOD and their Countrey.

Whereupon Master Sheriffe of the Countie of Lancaster, by direction of the Court, made returne of a very sufficient Iurie to passe betweene the Kings Maiestie and them, vpon their liues and deaths, with such others as follow in order.

The Prisoners being now at the Barre vpon their Triall, *Grace Sowerbutts*, the daughter of *Thomas Sowerbutts*, about the age of foureteene yeares, was produced to giue Euidence for the Kings Maiestie against them: who standing vp, she was commaunded to point out the Prisoners, which shee did, and said as followeth, *viz.*

***

The Examination and Euidence of

GRACE SOVVERBVTTS, *daughter of* THOMAS SOVVERBVTTS, *of Salmesbury, in the Countie of Lancaſter Husband-man, vpon her Oath,*

Againſt

IENNET BIERLEY, ELLEN BIERLEY, *and* IANE SOVTHVVORTH, *prisoners at the Barre, vpon their Arraignement and Triall,* viz.

THe said *Grace Sowerbutts* vpon her oath saith, That for the space of some yeares now laſt paſt shee hath beene haunted and vexed with some women, who haue vsed to come to her: which women, shee sayth, were *Iennet Bierley*, this Informers Grand-mother; *Ellen Bierley*, wife to *Henry Bierley*; *Iane Southworth*, late the wife of *Iohn Southworth*, and one *Old Doewife*, all of Salmesburie aforesaid. And shee saith, That now lately those foure women did violently draw her by the haire of the head, and layd her on the toppe of a Hay-mowe, in the said *Henry Bierleyes* Barne. And shee saith further, That not long after the said *Iennet Bierley* did meete this Examinate neere vnto the place where shee dwelleth, and first appeared in her owne likenesse, and after that in the likenesse of a blacke Dogge, and as this Examinate did goe ouer a Style, shee picked her off: howbeit shee saith shee had no hurt then, but rose againe, and went to her Aunts in Osbaldeston, and returned backe againe to her Fathers house the same night, being fetched home by her father. And she saith, That in her way home-wards shee did then tell her Father, how

how shee had beene dealt withall both then and at sundry times before that; and before that time she neuer told any bodie thereof: and being examined why she did not, she sayth, she could not speake thereof, though she desired so to doe. And she further sayth, That vpon Saterday, being the fourth of this instant Aprill, shee this Examinate going towards Salmesbury bote, to meete her mother, comming from Preston, shee saw the said *Iennet Bierley*, who met this Examinate at a place called the Two Brigges, first in her owne shape, and afterwards in the likenesse of a blacke Dogge, with two legges, which Dogge went close by the left side of this Examinate, till they came to a Pitte of Water, and then the said Dogge spake, and persuaded this Examinate to drowne her selfe there, saying, it was a faire and an easie death: Whereupon this Examinate thought there came one to her in a white sheete, and carried her away from the said Pitte, vpon the comming whereof the said blacke Dogge departed away; and shortly after the said white thing departed also: And after this Examinate had gone further on her way, about the length of two or three Fields, the said blacke Dogge did meete her againe, and going on her left side, as aforesaid, did carrie her into a Barne of one *Hugh Walshmans*, neere there by, and layed her vpon the Barne-floore, and couered this Examinate with Straw on her bodie, and Haye on her head, and the Dogge it selfe lay on the toppe of the said Straw, but how long the said Dogge lay there, this Examinate cannot tell, nor how long her selfe lay there: for shee sayth, That vpon her lying downe there, as aforesaid, her Speech and Senses were taken from her: and the first

time shee knew where shee was, shee was layed vpon a bedde in the said *Walshmans* house, which (as shee hath since beene told) was vpon the Monday at night following: and shee was also told, That shee was found and taken from the place where shee first lay, by some of her friends, and carried into the said *Walshmans* house, within a few houres after shee was layed in the Barne, as aforesaid. And shee further sayth, That vpon the day following, being Tuesday, neere night of the same day, shee this Examinate was fetched by her Father and Mother from the said *Walshmans* house to her Fathers house. And shee saith, That at the place before specified, called the Two Brigges, the said *Iennet Bierley* and *Ellen Bierley* did appeare vnto her in their owne shapes: whereupon this Examinate fell downe, and after that was not able to speake, or goe, till the Friday following: during which time, as she lay in her Fathers house, the said *Iennet Bierley* and *Ellen Bierley* did once appeare vnto her in their owne shapes, but they did nothing vnto her then, neither did shee euer see them since. And shee further sayth, That a good while before all this, this Examinate did goe with the said *Iennet Bierley*, her Grand-mother, and the said *Ellen Bierley* her Aunt, at the bidding of her said Grand-mother, to the house of one *Thomas Walshman*, in Salmesbury aforesaid. And comming thither in the night, when all the house-hold was a-bed, the doores being shut, the said *Iennet Bierley* did open them, but this Examinate knoweth not how: and being come into the said house, this Examinate and the said *Ellen Bierley* stayed there, and the said *Iennet Bierley* went into the Chamber where

where the said *Walshman* and his wife lay, & from thence brought a little child, which this Examinate thinketh was in bed with it Father and Mother : and after the said *Iennet Bierley* had set her downe by the fire, with the said child, shee did thruſt a naile into the nauell of the said child : and afterwards did take a pen and put it in at the said place, and did suck there a good space, and afterwards laid the child in bed againe : and then the said *Iennet* and the said *Ellen* returned to their owne houses, and this Examinate with them. And shee thinketh that neither the said *Thomas Walshman*, nor his wife knew that the said child was taken out of the bed from them. And shee saith also, that the said child did not crie when it was hurt, as aforesaid : But she saith, that shee thinketh that the said child did thenceforth languish, and not long after dyed. And after the death of the said child ; the next night after the buriall thereof, the said *Iennet Bierley* & *Ellen Bierley*, taking this Examinate with them, went to Salmesburie Church, and there did take vp the said child, and the said *Iennet* did carrie it out of the Church-yard in her armes, and then did put it in her lap and carryed it home to her owne house, and hauing it there did boile some therof in a Pot, and some did broile on the coales, of both which the said *Iennet* and *Ellen* did eate, and would haue had this Examinate and one *Grace Bierley*, Daughter of the said *Ellen*, to haue eaten with them, but they refused so to doe : And afterwards the said *Iennet* & *Ellen* did seethe the bones of the said child in a pot, & with the Fat that came out of the said bones, they said they would annoint themselues, that thereby they might sometimes change themselues into other shapes. And after all this being done, they said they

would lay the bones againe in the graue the next night following, but whether they did so or not, this Examinate knoweth not: Neither doth shee know how they got it out of the graue at the first taking of it vp. And being further sworne and examined, she deposeth & saith, that about halfe a yeare agoe, the said *Iennet Bierley*, *Ellen Bierley*, *Iane Southworth*, and this Examinate (who went by the appointment of the said *Iennet* her Grand mother) did meete at a place called Red banck, vpon the North side of the water of Ribble, euery Thursday and Sonday at night by the space of a fortnight, and at the water side there came vnto them, as they went thether, foure black things, going vpright, and yet not like men in the face: which foure did carrie the said three women and this Examinate ouer the Water, and when they came to the said Red Banck, they found some thing there which they did eate. But this Examinate saith, shee neuer saw such meate; and therefore shee durst not eate thereof, although her said Grand mother did bidde her eate. And after they had eaten, the said three Women and this Examinate danced, euery one of them with one of the black things aforesaid, and after their dancing the said black things did pull downe the said three Women, and did abuse their bodies, as this Examinate thinketh, for shee saith, that the black thing that was with her, did abuse her bodie.

The said Examinate further saith vpon her Oth, That about ten dayes after her Examination taken at Blackborne, shee this Examinate being then come to her Fathers house againe, after shee had beene certaine dayes at her Vnckles house in Houghton: *Iane Southworth* widow, did meet this Examinate at her Fathers house dore

and

and did carrie her into the loft, and there did lay her vpon the floore, where shee was shortly found by her Father and brought downe, and laid in a bed, as afterwards shee was told: for shee saith, that from the firſt meeting of the said *Iane Southworth*, shee this Examinate had her speech and senses taken from her. But the next day shee saith, shee came somewhat to her selfe, and then the said Widow *Southworth* came againe to this Examinate to her bed-side, and tooke her out of bed, and said to this Examinate, that shee did her no harme the other time, in reſpect of that shee now would after doe to her, and thereupon put her vpon a hey-ſtack, ſtanding some three or foure yards high from the earth, where shee was found after great search made, by a neighbours Wife neare dwelling, and then laid in her bed againe, where she remained speechlesse and senselesse as before, by the space of two or three daies: And being recouered, within a weeke after shee saith, that the said *Iane Southworth* did come againe to this Examinate at her fathers house and did take her away, and laid her in a ditch neare to the house vpon her face, and left her there, where shee was found shortly after, and laid vpon a bedde, but had not her senses againe of a day & a night, or thereabouts. And shee further saith, that vpon Tuesday laſt before the taking of this her Examination, the said *Iane Southworth* came to this Examinates Fathers house, and finding this Examinate without the doore, tooke her and carried her into the Barne, and thruſt her head amongſt a companie of boords that were there ſtanding, where shee was shortly after found and laid in a bedde, and remained in her old fit till the Thursday at night following.

And being further examined touching her being at Red-bancke, shee saith, That the three women, by her before named, were carried backe againe ouer Ribble, by the same blacke things that carried them thither; and saith that at their said meeting in the Red-bancke, there did come also diuers other women, and did meete them there, some old, some yong, which this Examinate thinketh did dwell vpon the North-side of Ribble, because she saw them not come ouer the Water: but this Examinate knew none of them, neither did she see them eat or dance, or doe any thing else that the rest did, sauing that they were there and looked on.

These particular points of Euidence being thus vrged against the Prisoners: the father of this *Grace Sowerbutts* prayed that *Thomas Walshman*, whose childe they are charged to murther, might be examined as a witnes vpon his oath, for the Kings Maiestie, against the Prisoners at the Barre: who vpon this strange deuised accusation, deliuered by this impudent wench, were in opinion of many of that great Audience guilty of this bloudie murther, and more worthy to die than any of these Witches.

The

The Examination and Euidence of THOMAS WALSHMAN, *of Salmesbury, in the Countie of Lancaſter, Yeoman.*

Againſt

IENNET BIERLEY, ELLEN BIERLEY, *and* IANE SOVTHVVORTH, *Priſoners at the Barre, vpon their Arraignement and Triall, as followeth.* viz.

THe ſaid Examinate, *Thomas Walshman*, vpon his oath ſaith, That hee had a childe died about Lent was twelue-month, who had beene ſicke by the ſpace of a fortnight or three weekes, and was afterwards buried in Salmesburie Church: which childe when it died was about a yeare old; But how it came to the death of it, this Examinate knoweth not. And he further ſaith, that about the fifteenth of Aprill laſt, or thereabouts, the ſaid *Grace Sowerbutts* was found in this Examinates fathers Barne, laid vnder a little hay and ſtraw, and from thence was carried into this Examinates houſe, and there laid till the Monday at night following: during which time ſhee did not ſpeak, but lay as if ſhe had beene dead.

The Examination of IOHN SINGLETON: *Taken at Salmesbury, in the Countie of Lancaſter, the ſeuenth day of Auguſt :* Anno Reg. Regis IACOBI Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Fidei Defensor. &c. Decimo & Scotiæ, xlvj.

Before

ROBERT HOVLDEN, *Esquire, one of his Maieſties Iuſtices of Peace in the County of Lancaſter.*

Againſt

IENNET BIERLEY, ELLEN BIERLEY, *and* IANE SOVTHVVORTH, *which hereafter followeth.*

THe said Examinate vpon his oath saith, That hee hath often heard his old Maſter, Sir *Iohn Southworth* Knight, now deceased, say, touching the late wife of *Iohn Southworth*, now in the Gaole, for suspition of Witchcraft : That the said wife was as he thought an euill woman, and a Witch : and he said that he was sorry for her husband, that was his kinsman, for he thought she would kill him. And this Examinate further saith, That the said Sir *Iohn Southworth* in his comming or going betweene his owne house at Salmesbury, and the Towne of Preſton, did for the moſt part forbeare to passe by the house, where the said wife dwelled, though it was his neareſt and beſt way ; and rode another way, only for feare of the said wife, as this Examinate verily thinketh.

The Examination of WILLIAM ALKER *of Salmesbury, in the Countie of Lancaſter, Yeoman: Taken the fifteenth day of Aprill*, Anno Reg. Regis IACOBI, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Decimo & Scotiæ, quadragesimo quinto.

Before

ROBERT HOVLDEN, *one of his Maieſties Iuſtices of Peace in the County of Lancaſter*: *Againſt* IENNET BIERLEY, ELLEN BIERLEY, *and* IANE BIERLEY, *which hereafter followeth*. viz.

THe said Examinate vpon his oath saith, That hee hath seene the said Sir *Iohn Southworth* shunne to meet the said wife of *Iohn Southworth*, now Prisoner in the Gaole, when he came neere where she was. And hath heard the said Sir *Iohn Southworth* say, that he liked her not, and that he doubted she would bewitch him.

Here was likewise *Thomas Sowerbutts*, father of *Grace Sowerbutts*, examined vpon his oath, and many other witnesses to little purpose: who being examined by the Court, could depose little againſt them: But the finding of the wench vpon the hay in her counterfeit fits: wherfore I leaue to trouble you with the particular declaration of their Euidence againſt the Prisoners, In reſpect there was not any one witnes able to charge them with one direct matter of Witchcraft; nor proue any thing for the murther of the childe.

Herein, before we come to the particular declaration of that wicked and damnable practise of this Iesuite or Seminary. I shall commend vnto your examination and iudgement some points of her Euidence, wherein you

shal see what impossibilities are in this accusatiō brought to this perfection, by the great care and paines of this officious Doctor, Master *Tompson* or *Southworth*, who commonly worketh vpon the Feminine disposition, being more Passiue then Actiue.

The particular points of the Euidence of GRACE SOVVERBVTTS, *viz.*

Euidence.

THat for the space of some yeares she hath been haunted and vexed with some women, who haue vsed to come to her.

The Iesuite forgot to instruct his Scholler how long it is since she was tormented: it seemes it is long since he read the old Badge of a Lyer, *Oportet mendacem esse memorem*. He knowes not how long it is since they came to church, after which time they began to practise Witchcraft. It is a likely thing the Torment and Panges of Witchcraft can be forgotten; and therefore no time can be set downe.

Shee saith that now lately these foure women did violently draw her by the haire of the head, and lay her on the top of a Hay-mow.

Heere they vse great violence to her, whome in another place they make choise to be of their counsell, to go with them to the house of *Walshman* to murther the childe. This courtesie deserues no discouery of so foule a Fact.

Not

Not long after, the ſaid Iennet Bierley *did meet this Examinate neere vnto the place where ſhe dwelled, and firſt appeared in her owne likeneſſe, and after that in the likeneſſe of a blacke Dogge.*

Vno & eodem tempore, ſhee transformed her ſelfe into a Dogge. I would know by what meanes any Prieſt can maintaine this point of Euidence.

And as ſhee went ouer a Style, ſhee picked her ouer, but had no hurt.

This is as likely to be true as the reſt, to throw a child downe from the toppe of a House, and neuer hurt her great toe.

She roſe againe; had no hurt, went to her Aunt, and returned backe againe to her Fathers houſe, being fetched home.

I pray you obſerue these contrarieties, in order as they are placed, to accuse the Prisoners.

Saterday the fourth of this inſtant Aprill.

Which was about the very day the Witches of the Forreſt of Pendle were sent to Lancaſter. Now was the time for the Seminarie to inſtruct, accuse, and call into queſtion these poore women: for the wrinckles of an old wiues face is good euidence to the Iurie againſt a Witch. And how often will the common people say (*Her eyes are ſunke in her head,* GOD *bleſſe vs from her.*) But old *Chattox* had *Fancie*, besides her withered face, to accuse her.

This Examinate did goe with the said Iennet Bierley *her Grand-mother, and* Ellen Bierley *her Aunt, to the house of* Walshman, *in the night-time, to murther a Child in a strange manner.*

This of all the rest is impossible, to make her of their counsell, to doe murther, whome so cruelly and barbarously they pursue from day to day, and torment her. The Witches of the Forrest of Pendle were neuer so cruell nor barbarous.

And she also saith, the Child cried not when it was hurt.

All this time the Child was asleepe, or the Child was of an extraordinarie patience, *ô inauditum facinus !*

After they had eaten, the said three women and this Examinate daunced euery one of them with one of the Blacke things : and after, the Blacke things abused the said women.

Here is good Euidence to take away their liues. This is more proper for the Legend of Lyes, then the Euidence of a witnesse vpon Oath, before a reuerend and learned Iudge, able to conceiue this Villanie, and finde out the practise. Here is the Religious act of a Priest, but behold the euent of it.

Shee describes the foure Blacke things to goe vpright, but not like Men in the face.

The Seminarie mistakes the face for the feete: For *Chattox* and all her fellow Witches agree, the Deuill is clouen-footed: but *Fancie* had a very good face, and was a very proper Man.

About

About tenne dayes after her Examination taken at Black-borne, then she was tormented.

Still he pursues his Proiect: for hearing his Scholler had done well, he laboured she might doe more in this nature. But notwithstanding, many things are layd to be in the times when they were Papists: yet the Priest neuer tooke paines to discouer them, nor instruct his Scholler, vntill they came to Church. Then all this was the Act of GOD, to raise a child to open all things, and then to discouer his plotted Tragedie. Yet in this great discouerie, the Seminarie forgot to deuise a Spirit for them.

And for *Thomas Walshman*, vpon his Oath he sayth, That his Child had beene sicke by the space of a fortnight, or three weekes, before it died. And *Grace Sowerbutts* saith, they tooke it out of the bedde, strucke a nayle into the Nauell, sucked bloud, layd it downe againe; and after, tooke it out of the Graue, with all the rest, as you haue heard. How these two agree, you may, vpon view of their Euidence, the better conceiue, and be able to judge.

How well this proiect, to take away the liues of three innocent poore creatures by practise and villanie; to induce a young Scholler to commit periurie, to accuse her owne Grand-mother, Aunt, &c. agrees either with the Title of a Iesuite, or the dutie of a Religious Priest, who should rather professe Sinceritie and Innocencie, then practise Trecherie: But this was lawfull; for they are Heretikes accursed, to leaue the companie of Priests; to frequent Churches, heare the word of GOD preached, and professe Religion sincerely.

But by the course of Times and Accidents, wise men obserue, that very seldome hath any mischieuous attempt beene vnder-taken without the direction or assistance of a Iesuit, or Seminarie Priest.

Who did not condemne these Women vpon this euidence, and hold them guiltie of this so foule and horrible murder? But Almightie God, who in his prouidence had prouided meanes for their deliuerance, although the Priest by the helpe of the Deuill, had prouided false witnesses to accuse them; yet GOD had prepared and placed in the Seate of Iustice, an vpright Iudge to sit in Iudgement vpon their liues, who after he had heard all the euidence at large against the Prisoners for the Kings Majestie, demanded of them what answere they could make. They humbly vpon their knees with weeping teares, desired him for Gods cause to examine *Grace Sowerbuts*, who set her on, or by whose meanes this accusation came against them.

Immediately the countenance of this *Grace Sowerbuts* changed: The witnesses being behinde, began to quarrell and accuse one an other. In the end his Lordship examined the Girle, who could not for her life make any direct answere, but strangely amazed, told him, shee was put to a Master to learne, but he told her nothing of this.

But here as his Lordships care and paines was great to discouer the practises of these odious Witches of the Forrest of Pendle, and other places, now vpon their triall before him: So was he desirous to discouer this damnable practise, to accuse these poore Women, and bring their liues in danger, and thereby to deliuer the innocent.

And

And as he openly deliuered it vpon the Bench, in the hearing of this great Audience: That if a Prieſt or Iesuit had a hand in one end of it, there would appeare to bee knauerie, and practiſe in the other end of it. And that it might the better appeare to the whole World, examined *Thomas Sowerbuts*, what Maſter taught his daughter: in generall termes, he denyed all.

The Wench had nothing to say, but her Maſter told her nothing of this. In the end, some that were present told his Lordship the truth, and the Prisoners informed him how shee went to learne with one *Thompson* a Seminarie Prieſt, who had inſtructed and taught her this accusation againſt them, because they were once obſtinate Papiſts, and now came to Church. Here is the diſcouerie of this Prieſt, and of his whole practiſe. Still this fire encreased more and more, and one witnesse accusing an other, all things were laid open at large.

In the end his Lordship tooke away the Girle from her Father, and committed her to M. *Leigh*, a very religious Preacher, and M. *Chisnal*, two Iuſtices of the Peace, to be carefully examined. Who tooke great paines to examine her of euery particular point: In the end they came into the Court, and there deliuered this Examination as followeth.

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The

The Examination of GRACE SOWERBVTS, *of Salmesburie, in the Countie of Lancaster, Spinster: Taken vpon Wednesday the* 19. *of August* 1612. *Annoq; Reg. Regis,* IACOBI *Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Fidei Defensoris, &c. decimo & Scotiæ, xlvi.*

Before

WILLIAM LEIGH, *and* EDWARD CHISNAL, *Esquires; two of his Maiesties Iustices of Peace in the same Countie: At the Assizes and generall Gaole deliuerie, holden at Lancaster.*

By

Direction of Sir EDWARD BROMLEY *Knight, one of his Maiesties Iustices of Assize at Lancaster.*

BEing demanded whether the accusation shee laid vpon her Grand-mother, *Iennet Bierley*, *Ellen Bierley*, and *Iane Southworth*, of Witchcraft, *viz.* of the killing of the child of *Thomas Walshman*, with a naile in the Nauell, the boyling, eating, and oyling, thereby to transforme themselues into diuers shapes, was true; she doth vtterly denie the same; or that euer shee saw any such practises done by them.

Shee further saith, that one Master *Thompson*, which she taketh to be Master *Christopher Southworth*, to whom shee was sent to learne her prayers, did perswade, counsell, and aduise her, to deale as formerly hath beene said against her said Grand-mother, Aunt, and *Southworths* wife.

And

And further shee confesseth and saith, that shee neuer did know, or saw any Deuils, nor any other Visions, as formerly by her hath beene alleaged and informed.

Also shee confesseth and saith, That she was not throwne or caſt vpon the Henne-ruffe, and Hay-mow in the Barne, but that shee went vp vpon the Mow her selfe by the wall side.

Being further demanded whether shee euer was at the Church, shee saith, shee was not, but promised her after to goe to the Church, and that very willingly.

Signum, ✠ Grace Sowerbuts.

William Leigh.

Edward Chisnal.

The Examination of IENNET BIERLEY, ELLEN BIERLEY, *and* IANE SOVTHWORTH, *of Salmesburie, in the Countie of Lancaſter, Taken vpon Wednesday the nineteenth of Auguſt* 1612. *Annoq; Reg. Regis,* IACOBI *Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Fidei Defensoris, &c. decimo & Scotiæ,* xlvi.

Before

WILLIAM LEIGH, *and* EDWARD CHISNAL, *Esquires ; two of his Maieſties Iuſtices of Peace in the ſame Countie: At the Aſſizes and generall Gaole deliuerie, holden at Lancaſter.*

By

Direction of Sir EDWARD BROMLEY *Knight, one of his Maieſties Iuſtices of Aſſize at Lancaſter.*

IEnnet *Bierley* being demanded what ſhee knoweth, or hath heard, how *Grace Sowerbuts* was brought to *Chriſtopher Southworth*, Prieſt ; ſhee answereth, that ſhee was brought to M. *Singletons* houſe by her owne Mother, where the ſaid Prieſt was, and that ſhee further heard her ſaid Mother ſay, after her Daughter had been in her fit, that ſhee ſhould be brought vnto her Maſter, meaning the ſaid Prieſt.

And ſhee further ſaith, that ſhee thinketh it was by and through the Counſell of the ſaid M. *Thomſon*, alias *Southworth*, Prieſt, That *Grace Sowerbuts* her Grandchild accuſed her of Witchcraft, and of ſuch practiſes as ſhee is accuſed of : And thinketh further, the cauſe why the ſaid *Thompſon*, alias *Southworth* Prieſt, ſhould practiſe with the Wench to doe it was, for that ſhee went to the Church.

Iane

Iane Southworth saith shee saw Maſter *Thompson*, alias *Southworth*, the Prieſt, a month or sixe weekes before she was committed to the Gaole; and had conference with him in a place called Barne-hey-lane, where and when shee challenged him for slandering her to bee a Witch: wherunto he answered, that what he had heard thereof, he heard from her mother and her Aunt: yet she, this Examinate, thinketh in her heart it was by his procurement, and is moued so to thinke, for that shee would not be disswaded from the Church.

Ellen Bierley saith, Shee saw Maſter *Thompson*, alias *Southworth*, sixe or eight weeks before she was committed, and thinketh the said Prieſt was the practiſer with *Grace Sowerbutts*, to accuse her of Witchcraft, and knoweth no cause why he should so doe, but because she goeth to the Church.

Signum, ✠ Iennet Bierley.

Signum, ☩ Iane Southworth.

Signum, ☩ Ellen Bierley.

William Leigh.

Edward Chisnall.

These Examinations being taken, they were brought into the Court, and there openly in the presence of this great Audience published, and declared to the Iurie of Life and Death; and thereupon the Gentlemen of their Iury required to consider of them. For although they stood vpon their Triall, for matter of Fact of Witchcraft, Murther, and much more of the like nature: yet in respect all their Accusations did appeare to bee practise: they were now to consider of them, and to acquit them. Thus were these poore Innocent creatures, by the great care and paines of this honorable Iudge, deliuered from the danger of this conspiracie; this bloudie practise of the Priest laid open: of whose fact I may lawfully say; *Etiam si ego tacuero clamabunt lapides.*

These are but ordinary with Priests and Iesuites: no respect of Bloud, kindred, or friendship, can moue them to forbeare their Conspiracies: for when he had laboured treacherously to seduce and conuert them, and yet could doe no good; then deuised he this meanes.

God of his great mercie deliuer vs all from them and their damnable conspiracies: and when any of his Maiesties subiects, so free and innocent as these, shall come in question, grant them as honorable a Triall, as Reuerend and worthy a Iudge to sit in Iudgement vpon them; and in the end as speedie a deliuerance. And for that which I haue heard of them; seene with my eyes, and taken paines to Reade of them: My humble prayer shall be to God Almightie. Vt Conuertantur ne pereant. Aut confundantur ne noceant.

To conclude, because the discourse of these three women of Salmesbury hath beene long and troublesome

some to you ; it is heere placed amongst the Witches, by special order and commandement, to set forth to the World the practise and conspiracie of this bloudy Butcher. And because I haue presented to your view a Kalender in the Frontispice of this Booke, of twentie notorious Witches : I shall shew you their deliuerance in order, as they came to their Arraignement and Triall euery day, and as the Gentlemen of euery Iury for life and death stood charged with them.

THE ARRAIGNMENT

and Triall of ANNE REDFERNE,

Daughter of ANNE WHITTLE, *alias* CHATTOX, *of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, for Witchcraft; vpon Wednesday the nineteenth of August, at the Assises and Generall Gaole-deliuerie, holden at Lancaster,*

Before

Sir EDVVARD BROMLEY *Knight, one of his Maiesties Iustices of Assise at Lancaster.*

Anne Redferne.

SVch is the horror of Murther, and the crying sinne of Bloud, that it will neuer bee satisfied but with Bloud. So fell it out with this miserable creature, *Anne Redferne*, the daughter of *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox:* who, as shee was her Mother, and brought her into the World, so was she the meanes to bring her into this danger, and in the end to her Execution, for much Bloud spilt, and many other mischiefes done.

For vpon Tuesday night (although you heare little of her at the Arraignement and Triall of old *Chattox*, her Mother) yet was shee arraigned for the murther of *Robert*

Robert Nutter, and others : and by the fauour and mercifull conſideration of the Iurie, the Euidence being not very pregnant againſt her, ſhe was acquited, and found Not guiltie.

Such was her condition and courſe of life, as had ſhe liued, ſhe would haue beene very dangerous : for in making pictures of Clay, ſhe was more cunning then any : But the innocent bloud yet vnſatisfied, and crying out vnto GOD for ſatisfaction and reuenge ; the crie of his people (to deliuer them from the danger of ſuch horrible and bloudie executioners, and from her wicked and damnable practiſes) hath now againe brought her to a ſecond Triall, where you ſhall heare what wee haue vpon Record againſt her.

This *Anne Redferne*, priſoner in the Caſtle at Lancaſter, being brought to the Barre, before the great Seat of Iuſtice, was there, according to the former order and courſe, indicted and arraigned, for that ſhe felloniouſly had practiſed, exercised, and vſed her deuillish and wicked Arts, called *Witchcrafts*, *Inchauntments*, *Charmes*, and *Sorceries*, in and vpon one *Chriſtopher Nutter*, and him the ſaid *Chriſtopher Nutter*, by force of the ſame Witchcrafts, felloniouſly did kill and murther, *Contra formam Statuti &c. Et contra Pacem &c.*

Vpon her Arraignement to this Indictment, ſhe pleaded *Not-Guiltie*; and for the triall of her life put her ſelfe vpon GOD and the Countrey.

So as now the Gentlemen of the Iurie of Life and Death ſtand charged with her as with others.

The Euidence againſt Anne Redferne, *Priſoner at the Barre.*

The

The Examination of ELIZABETH SOTHERNES, alias OLD DEMBDIKE, *taken at the Fence, in the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, the second day of Aprill*, Anno Reg. Regis IACOBI, Angliæ, &c. decimo, & Scotiæ xlv.

Against

ANNE REDFERNE (*the daughter of* ANNE WHITTLE, alias CHATTOX) *Prisoner at the Barre :*

Before

ROGER NOVVEL *of Reade, Esquire, one of his Maiesties Iustices of Peace within the said Countie.*

THis Examinate saith, That about halfe a yeare before *Robert Nutter* died, as this Examinate thinketh, this Examinate went to the house of *Thomas Redferne*, which was about Midsummer, as shee this Examinate now remembreth it : and there, within three yards of the East end of the said house, shee saw the said *Anne Whittle* and *Anne Redferne*, wife of the said *Thomas Redferne*, and daughter of the said *Anne Whittle*, the one on the one side of a Ditch, and the other on the other side, and two pictures of Clay or Marle lying by them, and the third picture the said *Anne Whittle* was making. And the said *Anne Redferne*, her said daughter, wrought her Clay or Marle to make the third picture withall. And this Examinate passing by them, a Spirit, called *Tibbe*, in the shape of a blacke Cat, appeared vnto her this Examinate, and said, Turne backe againe, and doe as they doe. To whom this Examinate said, What are they doing ?

ing ? Whereunto the said Spirit said, They are making three pictures : whereupon shee asked, whose pictures they were ? whereunto the said Spirit said, They are the pictures of *Chriſtopher Nutter*, *Robert Nutter*, and *Mary*, wife of the said *Robert Nutter*. But this Examinate denying to goe backe to helpe them to make the pictures aforesaid, the said Spirit seeming to be angrie therefore, shot or pushed this Examinate into the Ditch ; and so shedde the milke which this Examinate had in a Kanne, or Kitt : and so thereupon the Spirit at that time vanished out of this Examinates sight. But presently after that, the said Spirit appeared vnto this Examinate again in the shape of a Hare, and so went with her about a quarter of a myle, but said nothing vnto her this Examinate, nor shee to it.

The Examination of MARGARET CROOKE

Againſt

the said ANNE REDFERNE: *Taken the day and yeare aforesaid,*

Before

ROGER NOVVEL *aforesaid, Esquire, one of his Maieſties Iuſtices of the Peace in the Countie of Lancaſter.*

THis Examinate, sworne & examined vpon her oath, sayth, That about eighteene or nineteene yeares agoe, this Examinates brother, called *Robert Nutter*, about Whitsontide the same yeare, meeting with the said *Anne Redferne*, vpon some speeches betweene them they fell

out, as this Examinats said brother told this Examinat: and within some weeke, or fort-night, then next after, this Examinats said brother fell sicke, and so languished vntill about Candlemas then next after, and then died. In which time of his sicknesse, he did a hundred times at the least say, That the said *Anne Redferne* and her associates had bewitched him to death. And this Examinate further saith, That this Examinates Father, called *Christopher Nutter*, about Maudlintide next after following fell sicke, and so languished, vntill Michaelmas then next after, and then died: during which time of his sicknesse, hee did sundry times say, That hee was bewitched; but named no bodie that should doe the same.

The Examination of IOHN NVTTER, *of Higham Booth, in the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, yeoman,*

Against

the said ANNE REDFERNE: *Taken the day and yeare aforesaid,*

Before

ROGER NOVVEL *Esquire, one of his Maiesties Iustices of Peace in the Countie of Lancaster.*

THis Examinate, sworne & examined vpon his oath, sayth, That in or about Christmas, some eighteene or nineteene years agoe, this Examinat comming from Burnley with *Christopher Nutter* and *Robert Nutter*, this Examinates Father and Brother, this Examinate heard his

his said Brother then say vnto his said Father these words, or to this effect. *Father, I am sure I am bewitched by the* Chattox, Anne Chattox, *and* Anne Redferne *her daughter, I pray you cause them to bee layed in Lancaſter Caſtle:* Whereunto this Examinates Father answered, Thou art a foolish Ladde, it is not so, it is thy miscarriage. Then this Examinates Brother weeping, said; nay, I am sure that I am bewitched by them, and if euer I come againe (for hee was readie to goe to Sir *Richard Shuttleworths*, then his Maſter) I will procure them to bee laid where they shall be glad to bite Lice in two with their teeth.

Hereupon *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, her Mother, was brought forth to bee examined, who confessed the making of the pictures of Clay, and in the end cried out very heartily to God to forgiue her sinnes, and vpon her knees intreated for this *Redferne*, her daughter.

Here was likewise many witnesses examined vpon oth *Viua voce*, who charged her with many ſtrange practises, and declared the death of the parties, all in such sort, and about the time in the Examinations formerly mentioned.

All men that knew her affirmed, shee was more dangerous then her Mother, for shee made all or moſt of the Pictures of Clay, that were made or found at any time.

Wherefore I leaue her to make good vse of the little time she hath to repent in: but no meanes could moue her to repentance, for as shee liued, so shee dyed.

The Examination of IAMES DEVICE,

taken the day and yeare afore-said.

Before

ROGER NOWEL, *and* NICHOLAS BANNESTER, *Esquires : two of his Maiesties Iustices of Peace within the said Countie of Lancaster.* viz.

THe said Examinate vpon his oath saith, That about two yeares agoe, hee this Examinate saw three Pictures of Clay, of halfe a yard long, at the end of *Redfernes* house, which *Redferne* had one of the Pictures in his hand, *Marie* his Daughter had another in her hand, and the said *Redfernes* wife, now prisoner at Lancaster, had an other Picture in her hand, which Picture she the said *Redfernes* wife, was then crumbling, but whose Pictures they were, this Examinate cannot tell. And at his returning back againe, some ten Roods off them there appeared vnto him this Examinate a thing like a Hare, which spit fire at him this Examinate.

Anne Redferne the Witch.

The

THE ARRAIGNMENT

and Triall of ALICE NVTTER,

of the Forreſt of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaſter, for Witch-craft; vpon Wednesday the nineteenth of Auguſt, at the Aſſizes and generall Gaole deliuerie, holden at Lancaſter.

Before

Sir EDWARD BROMLEY *Knight, one of his Maieſties Iuſtices of Aſſize, at Lancaſter.*

Alice Nutter.

THe two degrees of persons which chiefly practise Witchcraft, are such, as are in great miserie and pouertie, for such the Deuill allures to follow him, by promising great riches, and worldly commoditie; Others, though rich, yet burne in a desperate desire of Reuenge; Hee allures them by promises, to get their turne satisfied to their hearts contentment, as in the whole proceedings against old *Chattox:* the examinations of old *Dembdike*; and her children, there was not one of them, but haue declared the like, when the Deuill first assaulted them.

But to attempt this woman in that sort, the Diuel had small meanes : For it is certaine she was a rich woman ; had a great estate, and children of good hope : in the common opinion of the world, of good temper, free from enuy or malice ; yet whether by the meanes of the rest of the Witches, or some vnfortunate occasion, shee was drawne to fall to this wicked course of life, I know not : but hither shee is now come to receiue her Triall, both for Murder, and many other vilde and damnable practises.

Great was the care and paines of his Lordship, to make triall of the Innocencie of this woman, as shall appeare vnto you vpon the Examination of *Iennet Deuice*, in open Court, at the time of her Arraignement and Triall ; by an extraordinary meanes of Triall, to marke her out from the rest.

It is very certaine she was of the Grand-counsell at Malking-Tower vpon Good-Friday, and was there present, which was a very great argument to condemne her.

This *Alice Nutter*, Prisoner in the Castle at Lancaster : Being brought to the Barre before the Great Seat of Iustice ; was there according to the former order and course Indicted and Arraigned, for that she felloniously had practised, exercised, and vsed her diuellish and wicked Arts, called *Witchcrafts*, *Iuchantments*, *Charmes* and *Sorceries*, in and vpon *Henry Mitton* : and him the said *Henry Mitton*, by force of the same Witchcrafts, felloniously did kill and murther. *Contra formam Statuti*, &c. *Et Contra Pacem*, &c.

Vpon her Arraignement, to this Indictment shee pleaded not guiltie ; and for the triall of her life, put her

her ſelfe vpon God and the Countrey.

So as now the Gentlemen of the Iury of life and death ſtand charged with her, as with others.

The Euidence againſt Alice Nutter *Priſoner at the Barre.*

The Examination of IAMES DEVICE

ſonne of ELIZABETH DEVICE: *Taken the ſeuen and twentieth day of Aprill:* Anno Reg. Regis IACOBI Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Fidei Defensor. &c. Decimo & Scotiæ, xlvj.

Before

ROGER NOVVEL *and* NICHOLAS BANESTER, *two of his Maieſties Iuſtices of Peace in the Countie of Lancaſter. Againſt Alice Nutter.*

THe ſaid Examinate saith vpon his oath, That hee heard his Grand-mother say, about a yeare ago, that his mother, called *Elizabeth Deuice*, and his Grand-mother, and the wife of *Richard Nutter*, of the Rough-Lee aforesaid, had killed one *Henry Mitton*, of the Rough-Lee aforesaid, by Witchcraft. The reason wherefore he was so killed, was for that this Examinats said Grandmother had asked the said *Mitton* a penny: and hee denying her thereof; thereupon shee procured his death as aforesaid.

Alice Nutter the Priſoner.

The

The Examination of ELIZABETH DEVICE, *mother of the said* IAMES DEVICE.

Against

ALICE NVTTER, *wife of* RICHARD NVTTER, *Prisoner at the Barre, vpon her Arraignement and Triall.*

Before

ROGER NOVVEL *and* NICHOLAS BANETER, *Esquires, the day and yeare aforesaid.*

THis Examinate vpon her oath confesseth, and saith, That she, with the wife of *Richard Nutter*, called *Alice Nutter*, Prisoner at the Barre; and this Examinates said mother, *Elizabeth Sotherne*, alias *Old Demdike*; ioyned altogether, and bewitched the said *Henry Mitton* to death.

This Examinate further saith, That vpon Good-friday last, there dined at this examinats house two women of Burneley Parish, whose names the said *Richard Nutters* wife, *Alice Nutter*, now Prisoner at the Barre, doth know.

The

The Examination of IAMES DEVICE *aforesaid,*

Againſt

The ſaid ALICE NVTTER, *the day and yeare aforesaid.*

THe ſaid Examinate vpon his oath ſaith, That vpon Good-Friday about twelue of the clocke in the day time, there dined in this Examinats ſaid mothers house, a number of perſons, whereof three were men, with this Examinate, and the reſt women: and that they mette there for theſe three cauſes following, as this Examinats ſaid mother told this Examinate.

The firſt was for the naming of the Spirit, which *Alizon Deuice*, now Priſoner at Lancaſter, had, but did not name him, becauſe ſhe was not there.

The ſecond cauſe was, for the deliuerie of his ſaid Grand-mother; this Examinates ſaid ſiſter, *Alizon*; the ſaid *Anne Chattox*, and her daughter *Redferne*; killing the Gaoler at Lancaſter, and before the next Aſſizes to blow vp the Caſtle there; to the end that the foreſaid Priſoners might by that meanes make an eſcape, and get away: all which this Examinate then heard them conferre of.

And he alſo ſaith, The names of ſuch Witches as were on Good-Friday at this Examinats ſaid Grand-mothers house, and now this Examinates owne mothers, for ſo many of them as he doth know, were amongſt others, *Alice Nutter*, mother of *Myles Nutter*, now Priſoner at the Barre. And this Examinate further ſaith, That all the ſaid Witches went out of the ſaid house in their

owne shapes and likenesses ; and they all, by that time they were forth of the doores, were gotten on horse-backe, like vnto Foales, some of one colour, and some of another ; and *Prestons* wife was the last : and when shee got on horse-back, they all presently vanished out of this Examinates sight : and before their said parting away, they all appointed to meete at the said *Prestons* wifes house that day twelue month, at which time the said *Prestons* wife promised to make them a great feast : and if they had occasion to meete in the meane time, then should warning be giuen to meet vpō Romleys Moore.

The Examination and Euidence of IENNET DEVICE, *daughter of* ELIZABETH DEVICE.

Against

ALICE NVTTER, *Prisoner at the Barre.*

THe said Examinate saith, That on Good-Friday last, there was about 20. persons, whereof only two were men (to this Examinates remembrance) at her said Grand-mothers house at Malking-Tower, about twelue of the clock ; all which persons, this Examinats said mother tould her, were Witches. And she further saith, she knoweth the names of six of them, *viz.* the wife of *Hugh Hargreiues* vnder Pendle, *Christopher Howgate* of Pendle, Vncle to this Examinat and *Elizabeth* his wife ; and *Dick Myles* wife of the Rough-Lee, *Christopher Iacks* of Thorniholme, and his wife ; and the names of the residue, she this Examinate doth not know.

After

AFter these Examinations were openly read, his Lordship being very suspitious of the accusation of this yong wench *Iennet Deuice*, commanded one to take her away into the vpper Hall, intending in the meane time to make Triall of her Euidence, and the Accusation especially againſt this woman, who is charged to haue beene at Malking-Tower, at this great meeting. Maſter *Couel* was commanded to set all his Prisoners by themselues, and betwixt euery Witch another Prisoner, and some other ſtrange women amongſt them, so as no man could iudge the one from the other : and these being set in order before the Court from the prisoners, then was the Wench *Iennet Deuice* commaunded to be brought into the Court : and being set before my Lord, he tooke great paines to examine her of euery particular Point, What women were at Malking-Tower vpon Good-Friday ? How she knew them ? What were the names of any of them ? And how she knew them to be such as she named ?

In the end being examined by my Lord, Whether she knew them that were there by their faces, if she saw them ? she told my Lord she should : whereupon in the presence of this great Audience, in open Court, she went and tooke *Alice Nutter*, this prisoner, by the hand, and accused her to be one : and told her in what place shee sat at the Feaſt at Malking-Tower, at the great assembly of the Witches, and who sat next her : what conference they had, and all the reſt of their proceedings at large, without any manner of contrarietie.

Being demaunded further by his Lordship, Whether she knew *Iohan a Style ?* she alledged, she knew no such womā to be there, neither did she euer heare her name.

This could be no forged or false Accusation, but the very Act of GOD to discouer her.

Thus was no meanes left to doe her all indifferent fauour, but it was vsed to saue her life; and to this shee could giue no answere.

But nothing would serue: for old *Dembdike*, old *Chattox*, and others, had charged her with innocent bloud, which cries out for Reuenge, and will be satisfied. And therefore Almightie GOD, in his Iustice, hath cut her off.

And here I leaue her, vntill shee come to her Execution, where you shall heare shee died very impenitent; insomuch as her owne children were neuer able to moue her to confesse any particular offence, or declare any thing, euen in *Articulo Mortis:* which was a very fearefull thing to all that were present, who knew shee was guiltie.

***

THE

THE ARRAIGNMENT

and Triall of KATHERINE HEVVIT,

Wife of IOHN HEVVIT, *alias* MOVLD-HEELES, *of Coulne, in the Countie of Lancaſter Clothier, for Witchcraft; vpon Wednesday the nineteenth of Auguſt, at the Aſſises and Generall Gaole-deliuerie, holden at Lancaſter.*

Before

Sir EDVVARD BROMLEY *Knight, one of his Maieſties Iuſtices of Aſſise at Lancaſter.*

Katherine Hewit.

WHo but Witches can be proofes, and so witnesses of the doings of Witches? since all their Meetings, Conspiracies, Practises, and Murthers, are the workes of Darkenesse: But to discouer this wicked *Furie*, GOD hath not onely raised meanes beyond expectation, by the voluntarie Confession and Accusation of all that are gone before, to accuse this Witch (being Witches, and thereby witnesses of her doings) but after they were committed, by meanes of a Child, to discouer her to be one, and a Principall in that wicked assembly at Malking-Tower, to deuise such a damnable course for the deliuerance of their friends at

Lancaſter, as to kill the Gaoler, and blow vp the Caſtle, wherein the Deuill did but labour to assemble them together, and so being knowne to send them all one way: And herein I shall commend vnto your good consideration the wonderfull meanes to condemne these parties, that liued in the world, free from suspicion of any such offences, as are proued againſt them: And thereby the more dangerous, that in the successe wee may lawfully say, the very Finger of God did point thē out. And she that neuer saw them, but in that meeting, did accuse them, and by their faces discouer them.

This *Katherine Hewyt*, Prisoner in the Caſtle at Lancaſter, being brought to the Barre before the great Seate of Iuſtice, was there according to the former order and course Indicted and Arraigned, for that she felloniously had practized, exercised, and vsed her Deuillish and wicked Arts, called *Witch-crafts*, *Inchantments*, *Charmes*, and *Sorceries*, in, and vpon *Anne Foulds*; and the same *Anne Foulds*, by force of the same witch-craft, felloniously did kill and murder. *Contra formam Statuti, &c. Et contra Pacem dicti Domini Regis, &c.*

Vpon her Arraignement to this Indictment, shee pleaded not guiltie; And for the triall of her life put her selfe vpon God and her Countrie.

So as now the Gentlemen of the Iurie of life and death, ſtand charged with her as with others.

The Euidence againſt Katherine Hewyt, *Prisoner at the Barre.*

The

The Examination of IAMES DEVICE,

Sonne of ELIZABETH DEVICE, *taken the ſeuen and twentieth day of Aprill*, Anno Reg. Regis IACOBI, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, decimo, & Scotiæ quadragesimo quarto.

Before

ROGER NOWEL, *and* NICHOLAS BANNESTER, *Esquires ; two of his Maieſties Iuſtices of Peace, in the Countie of Lancaſter.*

Againſt

KATHERINE HEWYT, *alias* MOVLD-HEELES *of Colne.* viz.

THis Examinate saith, that vpon Good-Friday laſt, about twelue of the Clock in the day time, there dined at this Examinates Mothers house a number of persons : And hee also saith, that they were Witches ; and that the names of the said Witches, that were there, for so many of them as he did know, were amongſt others *Katherine Hewyt*, wife of *Iohn Hewyt*, alias *Mould-heeles*, of Colne, in the Countie of Lancaſter Clothier ; And that the said Witch, called *Katherine Hewyt*, alias *Mould-heeles*, and one *Alice Gray*, did confeſſe amongſt the said Witches at their meeting at *Malkin-Tower* aforesaid, that they had killed *Foulds* wifes child, called *Anne Foulds*, of Colne : And also said, that they had then in hanck a child of *Michael Hartleys* of Colne.

And this Examinate further saith, that all the said Witches went out of the said house in their own shapes and likenesses, and by that time they were gotten forth of

of the doores, they were gotten on Horse-back like vnto foales, some of one colour, some of an other, and the said *Prestons* wife was the last: And when shee got on Horse-back, they all presently vanished out of this Examinates sight. And before their said parting away they all appointed to meete at the said *Prestons* wifes house that day twelue Moneths: at which time the said *Prestons* wife promised to make them a great feast, and if they had occasion to meete in the meane time, then should warning be giuen that they all should meet vpon Romlesmoore.

The Examination and Euidence of ELIZABETH DEVICE, *Mother of the said* IAMES DEVICE,

Against

KATHERINE HEWYT, *alias* MOVLD-HEELES, *Prisoner at the Barre vpon her Arraignement and Triall, taken the day and yeare aforesaid.* viz.

THis Examinate vpon her oath confesseth, that vpon Good-Friday last there dyned at this Examinates house, which she hath said are Witches, and verily thinketh to bee Witches, such as the said *Iames Deuice* hath formerly spoken of; amongst which was *Katherine Hewyt*, alias *Mould-heeles*, now Prisoner at the Barre: and shee also saith, that at their meeting on Good-Friday at *Malkin-Tower* aforesaid, the said *Katherine Hewyt*, alias *Mould-heeles*, and *Alice Gray*, did confesse, they had killed

led a child of *Foulds* of Colne, called *Anne Foulds*, and had gotten hold of an other.

And shee further saith, the said *Katherine Hewyt* with all the reſt, there gaue her consent with the said *Preſtons* wife for the murder of Maſter *Liſter*.

The Examination and Euidence of IENNET DEVICE,

Againſt

KATHERINE HEWYT, *alias* MOVLD-HEELES, *Prisoner at the Barre.*

THe said Examinate saith, That vpon Good-Friday laſt, there was about twentie persons, where of two were men to this Examinates remembrance, at her said Grand-mothers house, called *Malkin-Tower* aforesaid, about twelue of the clock : All which persons this Examinates said mother told her were Witches, and that shee knoweth the names of sixe of the said Witches.

Then was the said *Iennet Deuice* commanded by his Lordship, to finde and point out the said *Katherine Hewyt*, alias *Mould-heeles*, amongſt all the reſt of the said Women, whereupon shee went and tooke the said *Katherine Hewyt* by the hand: Accused her to bee one, and told her in what place shee sate at the feaſt at *Malkin-Tower*, at the great Assembly of the Witches, and who sate next her ; what conference they had, and all the reſt of their proceedings at large, without any manner of contrarietie : Being demanded further by his Lord-

ship, whether *Ioane a Downe* were at that Feast, and meeting, or no? shee alleaged shee knew no such woman to be there, neither did shee euer heare her name.

If this were not an Honorable meanes to trie the accusation against them, let all the World vpon due examination giue iudgement of it. And here I leaue her the last of this companie, to the Verdict of the Gentlemen of the Iurie of life and death, as hereafter shall appeare.

Heere the Iurie of Life and Death, hauing spent the most part of the day, in due consideration of their offences; Returned into the Court to deliuer vp their Verdict against them, as followeth.

The Verdict of Life and Death.

WHo vpon their Oathes found *Iennet Bierley*, *Ellen Bierley*, and *Iane Southworth*, not guiltie of the offence of Witch-craft, conteyned in the Indictment against them.

Anne Redferne, guiltie of the fellonie & murder, conteyned in the Indictment against her.

Alice Nutter, guiltie of the fellonie and murder conteyned in the Indictment against her.

And

Katherine Hewyt, guiltie of the fellonie & murder conteyned in the Indictment against her.

Where-

Whereupon Maſter *Couell* was commanded by the Court to take away the Priſoners Conuicted, and to bring forth *Iohn Bulcocke*, *Iane Bulcocke* his mother, and *Alizon Deuice*, Priſoners in the Caſtle at Lancaſter, to receiue their Trialls.

Who were brought to their Arraignement and Triall as hereafter followeth.

THE ARRAIGNMENT

and Triall of IOHN BVLCOCK, *and* IANE BVLCOCK *his mother, wife of* CHRISTOPHER BVLCOCK, *of the Mosse-end, in the Countie of Lancaster, for Witch-craft : vpon Wednesday in the after-noone, the nineteenth of August,* 1612. *At the Assizes and generall Gaole deliuery, holden at Lancaster.*

Before

Sir EDVVARD BROMLEY, *Knight, one of his Maiesties Iustices of Assizes at Lancaster.*

John Bulcock,
and
Jane Bulcock his mother.

IF there were nothing to charge these Prisoners withall, whom now you may behold vpon their Arraignement and Triall but their poasting in haste to the great Assembly at Malking-Tower, there to aduise and consult amongst the Witches, what were to bee done to set at liberty the Witches in the Castle at Lancaster : Ioyne with *Iennet Preston* for the murder of Master *Lister* ; and such like wicked & diuellish practises:

It

It were ſufficient to accuſe them for Witches, & to bring their liues to a lawfull Triall. But amongſt all the Witches in this company, there is not a more fearefull and diuellish Act committed, and voluntarily confessed by any of them, comparable to this, vnder the degree of Murder: which impudently now (at the Barre hauing formerly confessed;) they forsweare, swearing they were neuer at the great assembly at Malking Tower; although the very Witches that were present in that action with them, iuſtifie, maintaine, and sweare the same to be true againſt them: Crying out in very violent & outragious manner, euen to the gallowes, where they died impenitent for any thing we know, because they died silent in the particulars. These of all others were the moſt desperate wretches (void of all feare or grace) in all this Packe; Their offences not much inferiour to Murther: for which you shall heare what matter of Record wee haue againſt them; and whether they be worthie to continue, we leaue it to the good consideration of the Iury.

The said *Iohn Bulcock*, and *Iane Bulcock* his mother, Prisoners in the Caſtle at Lancaſter, being brought to the Barre before the great Seat of Iuſtice: were there according to the former order and course Indicted and Arraigned, for that they felloniously had practised, exercised and vsed their diuellish & wicked Arts, called *Witchcrafts*, *Inchantments*, *Charmes* and *Sorceries*, in and vpon the body of *Iennet Deane*: so as the body of the said *Iennet Deane*, by force of the said Witchcrafts, waſted and consumed; and after she, the said *Iennet*, became madde. *Contra formam Statuti*, &c. *Et Contra Pacem*, &c.

Vpon their Arraignement, to this Indictment they pleaded not guiltie; and for the triall of their liues put

themselues vpon God and their Countrey.

So as now the Gentlemen of the Iurie of Life and Death stand charged with them as with others.

The Euidence against Iohn Bulcock, *and* Iane Bulcock *his mother, Prisoners at the Barre.*

The Examination of IAMES DEVICE

taken the seuen and twentieth day of Aprill aforesaid.

Before

ROGER NOVVEL *and* NICHOLAS BANESTER, *Esquires, two of his Maiesties Iustices of Peace in the Countie of Lancaster.*

Against

IOHN BVLCOCK *and* IANE BVLCOCK *his mother.*

THis Examinate saith, That vpon Good-Friday, about twelue of the clocke in the day time, there dined in this Examinates said Mothers house a number of persons, whereof three were men with this Examinate, and the rest women, and that they met there for these three causes following, as this Examinates said mother told this Examinate. The first was, for the naming of the Spirit which *Allison Deuice*, now prisoner at Lancaster had, but did not name him, because shee was not there. The second cause was, for the deliuerie of his said Grand-mother; this Examinates said sister *Allison*; the said *Anne Chattox*, and her daughter *Redferne*, killing the

the Gaoler at Lancaſter, and before the next Assises to blow vp the Caſtle there, to that end the aforesaid prisoners might by that meanes make an escape, and get away: All which this Examinate then heard them conferre of.

And he also sayth, That the names of such said Witches as were on Good-Friday at this Examinates said Grand-mothers house, and now this Examinates owne mothers, for so many of them as hee did know, were these, *viz*. *Iane Bulcock*, wife of *Chriſtopher Bulcock*, of the Mosse end, and *Iohn* her sonne amongſt others, &c.

And this Examinate further saith, That all the said Witches went out of the said house in their own shapes and likenesses: and they all, by that they were forth of the dores, were gotten on horse-backe, like vnto Foales, some of one colour, and some of another, and *Preſtons* wife was the laſt: and when shee got on horse-backe, they all presently vanished out of this Examinates sight.

And further he saith, That the said *Iohn Bulcock* and *Iane* his said Mother, did confesse vpon Good-Friday laſt, at the said Malking-Tower, in the hearing of this Examinate, That they had bewitched, at the new-field Edge in Yorkeshire, a woman called *Iennet*, wife of *Iohn Deyne*, besides, her Reason; and the said Womans name so bewitched, he did not heare them speake of And this Examinate further saith, That at the said Feaſt at Malking-Tower this Examinate heard them all giue their consents to put the said Maſter *Thomas Liſter* of Weſtby to death. And after Maſter *Liſter* should be made away by Witch-craft, then all the said Witches gaue their consents to ioyne all together, to hanck Maſter

ſter *Leonard Liſter*, when he ſhould come to dwell at the Cow-gill, and ſo put him to death.

The Examination of ELIZABETH DEVICE, *Taken the day and yeare aforeſaid,*

Before

ROGER NOVVEL *and* NICHOLAS BANESTER, *Eſquires, two of his Maieſties Iuſtices of Peace in the Countie of Lancaſter,*

Againſt

IOHN BVLCOCK, *and* IANE BVLCOCK, *his mother.*

THis Examinate ſaith vpon her oath, That ſhe doth verily thinke, that the ſaid *Bulcockes* wife doth know of ſome Witches to bee about Padyham and Burnley.

And ſhee further ſaith, That at the ſaid meeting at Malking-Tower, as aforeſaid, *Katherine Hewit* and *Iohn Bulcock*, with all the reſt then there, gaue their conſents, with the ſaid *Preſtons* wife, for the killing of the ſaid Maſter *Liſter*.

The

The Examination and Euidence of IENNET DEVICE

Againſt

IOHN BVLCOCKE *and* IANE *his mother, prisoners at the Barre.*

THe ſaid Examinate ſaith, That vpon Good-Friday laſt there was about twentie persons, whereof two were men, to this Examinates remembrance, at her ſaid Grand-mothers house, called Malking-Tower aforeſaid: all which persons, this Examinates ſaid mother told her were Witches, and that she knoweth the names of sixe of the ſaid Witches.

Then was the ſaid *Iennet Deuice* commaunded by his Lordship to finde and point out the ſaid *Iohn Bulcock* and *Iane Bulcock* amongſt all the reſt: whereupon shee went and tooke *Iane Bulcock* by the hand, accused her to be one, and told her in what place shee ſat at the Feaſt at Malking-Tower, at the great Assembly of the Witches; and who ſat next her: and accused the ſaid *Iohn Bulcock* to turne the Spitt there; what conference they had, and all the reſt of their proceedings at large, without any manner of contrarietie.

Shee further told his Lordship, there was a woman that came out of Craven to that Great Feaſt at Malking-Tower, but shee could not finde her out amongſt all those women.

¶ The names of the Witches at the *Great Assembly and Feast at* Malking-Tower, *viz.* vpon Good-Friday last, 1612.

Elizabeth Deuice. wife of John Deuice & Dembdike's daughter

Alice Nutter.

Katherine Hewit, alias *Mould-heeles.*

John Bulcock.

Jane Bulcock.

Alice Graie.

Jennet Hargraues.

Elizabeth Hargraues.

Christopher Howgate, Vncle of Jennet Deuice Sonne to old *Dembdike.*

Christopher Hargraues.

Grace

Grace Hay, of Padiham.

Anne Crunckshey, of Marchden.

Elizabeth Howgate. wife of Xopher

Jennet Preſton, Executed at Yorke for the Murder of Maſter *Liſter*.

With many more, which being bound ouer to appeare at the laſt Assizes, are since that time fled to saue themselues.

THE ARRAIGNMENT

and Triall of ALIZON DEVICE,

Daughter of ELIZABETH DEVICE, *within the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaſter aforesaid, for Witch-craft.*

Alizon Deuice.

BEhold, aboue all the reſt, this lamentable ſpectacle of a poore diſtreſſed Pedler; how miſerably hee was tormented, and what punishment hee endured for a ſmall offence, by the wicked and damnable practise of this odious Witch, firſt inſtructed therein by old *Dembdike* her Grand-mother, of whose life and death with her good conditions, I haue written at large before in the beginning of this worke, out of her owne Examinations and other Records, now remayning with the Clarke of the Crowne at Lancaſter: And by her Mother brought vp in this deteſtable course of life; wherein I pray you obſerue but the manner and course of it in order, euen to the laſt period at the Execution, for this horrible fact, able to terrifie and aſtonish any man liuing.

This *Alizon Deuice*, Priſoner in the Caſtle of Lancaſter,

ſter, being brought to the Barre before the great Seat of Iuſtice, was there according to the former order and course indicted and arraigned, for that shee felloniously had practised, exercised, and vsed her Deuillish and wicked Arts, called *Witch-craftes*, *Inchantments*, *Charmes*, and *Sorceries*, in, and vpon one *Iohn Law*, a Petti-chapman, and him had lamed, so that his bodie waſted and consumed, &c. *Contra formam Statuti, &c. Et contra pacem dicti Domini Regis, Coronam & Dignitatem, &c.*

Vpon the Arraignement, The poore Pedler, by name *Iohn Law*, being in the Caſtle about the Moot-hall, attending to be called, not well able to goe or ſtand, being led thether by his poore sonne *Abraham Law:* My Lord *Gerrard* moued the Court to call the poore Pedler, who was there readie, and had attended all the Assizes, to giue euidence for the Kings Majeſtie, againſt the said *Alizon Deuice*, Prisoner at the Barre, euen now vpon her Triall. The Prisoner being at the Barre, & now beholding the Pedler, deformed by her Witch-craft, and transformed beyond the course of Nature, appeared to giue euidence againſt her; hauing not yet pleaded to her Indictment, saw it was in vaine to denie it, or ſtand vpon her juſtification: Shee humbly vpon her knees at the Barre with weeping teares, prayed the Court to heare her.

Whereupon my Lord *Bromley* commanded shee should bee brought out from the Prisoners neare vnto the Court, and there on her knees, shee humbly asked forgiuenesse for her offence: And being required to make an open declaration or confession of her offence: Shee confessed as followeth. *viz.*

The Confession of ALIZON DEVICE, *Prisoner at the Barre : published and declared at time of her Arraignement and Triall in open Court.*

SHe saith, That about two yeares agone, her Grandmother, called *Elizabeth Sothernes*, alias *Dembdike*, did (sundry times in going or walking together, as they went begging) perswade and aduise this Examinate to let a Diuell or a Familiar appeare to her, and that shee, this Examinate would let him suck at some part of her; and she might haue and doe what shee would. And so not long after these perswasions, this Examinate being walking towards the Rough-Lee, in a Close of one *Iohn Robinsons*, there appeared vnto her a thing like vnto a Blacke Dogge: speaking vnto her, this Examinate, and desiring her to giue him her Soule, and he would giue her power to doe any thing she would: whereupon this Examinate being therewithall inticed, and setting her downe; the said Blacke-Dogge did with his mouth (as this Examinate then thought) sucke at her breast, a little below her Paps, which place did remaine blew halfe a yeare next after: which said Blacke-Dogge did not appeare to this Examinate, vntill the eighteenth day of March last: at which time this Examinate met with a Pedler on the high-way, called Colne-field, neere vnto Colne: and this Examinate demanded of the said Pedler to buy some pinnes of him; but the said Pedler sturdily answered this Examinate that he would not loose his Packe; and so this Examinate parting with him: presently there appeared to this Examinate the Blacke-Dogge, which appeared vnto her as before: which Black

Dogge

Dogge spake vnto this Examinate in English, saying; What wouldst thou haue me to do vnto yonder man? to whom this Examinate said, What canſt thou do at him? and the Dogge answered againe, I can lame him: whereupon this Examinat answered, and said to the said Black Dogge, Lame him: and before the Pedler was gone fortie Roddes further, he fell downe Lame: and this Examinate then went after the said Pedler; and in a house about the diſtance aforesaid, he was lying Lame: and so this Examinate went begging in Trawden Forreſt that day, and came home at night: and about fiue daies next after, the said Black-Dogge did appeare to this Examinate, as she was going a begging, in a Cloase neere the New-Church in Pendle, and spake againe to her, saying; Stay and speake with me; but this Examinate would not: Sithence which time this Examinat neuer saw him.

Which agreeth verbatim *with her owne Examination taken at* Reade, *in the Countie of Lancaſter, the thirtieth day of March, before Maſter* Nowel, *when she was apprehended and taken.*

MY Lord *Bromley*, and all the whole Court not a little wondering, as they had good cause, at this liberall and voluntarie confession of the Witch; which is not ordinary with people of their condition and qualitie: and beholding also the poore diſtressed Pedler, ſtanding by, commanded him vpon his oath to declare the manner how, and in what sort he was handled; how he came to be lame, and so to be deformed; who deposed vpon his oath, as followeth.

The

The Euidence of IOHN LAVV,

Pettie Chapman, vpon his oath :

Against

ALIZON DEVICE, *Prisoner at the Barre.*

HE deposeth and saith, That about the eighteenth of March last past, hee being a Pedler, went with his Packe of wares at his backe thorow Colne-field : where vnluckily he met with *Alizon Deuice*, now Prisoner at the Barre, who was very earnest with him for pinnes, but he would giue her none : whereupon she seemed to be very angry ; and when hee was past her, hee fell downe lame in great extremitie ; and afterwards by meanes got into an Ale-house in Colne, neere vnto the place where hee was first bewitched : and as hee lay there in great paine, not able to stirre either hand or foote ; he saw a great Black-Dogge stand by him, with very fearefull firie eyes, great teeth, and a terrible countenance, looking him in the face ; whereat he was very sore afraid : and immediately after came in the said *Alizon Deuice*, who staid not long there, but looked on him, and went away.

After which time hee was tormented both day and night with the said *Alizon Deuice* ; and so continued lame, not able to trauell or take paines euer since that time : which with weeping teares in great passion turned to the Prisoner ; in the hearing of all the Court hee said to her, *This thou knowest to be too true* : and thereupon she humblie acknowledged the same, and cried out to God to forgiue her ; and vpon her knees with weeping teares, humbly prayed him to forgiue her that wicked offence ; which he very freely and voluntarily did.

Here

Hereupon Maſter *Nowel* ſtanding vp, humbly prayed the fauour of the Court, in reſpect this Fact of Witchcraft was more eminent and apparant then the reſt, that for the better ſatisfaction of the Audience, the Examination of *Abraham Law* might be read in Court.

The Examination of ABRAHAM LAVV, *of Hallifax, in the Countie of Yorke, Cloth-dier, taken vpon oath the thirtieth day of March,* 1612.

Before

ROGER NOVVEL, *Eſquire, aforeſaid.*

BEing ſworne and examined, ſaith, That vpon Saturday laſt ſaue one, being the one and twentieth day of this inſtant March, he, this Examinate was ſent for, by a letter that came from his father, that he ſhould come to his father, *Iohn Law*, who then lay in Colne ſpeechleſſe, and had the left-ſide lamed all ſaue his eye: and when this Examinate came to his father, his ſaid father had ſomething recouered his ſpeech, and did complaine that hee was pricked with Knives, Elſons and Sickles, and that the ſame hurt was done vnto him at Colne-field, preſently after that *Alizon Deuice* had offered to buy ſome pinnes of him, and ſhe had no money to pay for them withall; but as this Examinates father told this Examinate, he gaue her ſome pinnes. And this Examinate further ſaith, That he heard his ſaid father ſay that the hurt he had in his lameneſſe was done vnto him by the ſaid *Alizon Deuice*, by Witchcraft. And this

Examinate further saith, that hee heard his said Father further say, that the said *Alizon Deuice* did lie vpon him and trouble him. And this Examinate seeing his said Father so tormented with the said *Alizon* and with one other olde woman, whome this Examinates Father did not know as it seemed: This Examinate made search after the said *Alizon*, and hauing found her, brought her to his said Father yesterday being the nine & twenteth of this instant March: whose said Father in the hearing of this Examinate and diuers others did charge the said *Alizon* to haue bewitched him, which the said *Alizon* confessing did aske this Examinates said Father forgiuenesse vpon her knees for the same; whereupon this Examinates Father accordingly did forgiue her. Which Examination in open Court vpon his oath hee iustified to be true.

Whereupon it was there affirmed to the Court that this *Iohn Law* the Pedler, before his vnfortunate meeting with this Witch, was a verie able sufficient stout man of Bodie, and a goodly man of Stature. But by this Deuilish art of *Witch-craft* his head is drawne awrie, his Eyes and face deformed, His speech not well to bee vnderstood; his Thighes and Legges starcke lame: his Armes lame especially the left side, his handes lame and turned out of their course, his Bodie able to indure no trauell: and thus remaineth at this present time.

The Prisoner being examined by the Court whether shee could helpe the poore Pedler to his former strength and health, she answered she could not, and so did many of the rest of the Witches: But shee, with others, affirmed, That if old *Dembdike* had liued, shee could and would haue helped him out of that great miserie

serie, which so long he hath endured for so small an offence, as you haue heard.

These things being thus openly published against her, and she knowing her selfe to be guiltie of euery particular, humbly acknowledged the Indictment against her to be true, and that she was guiltie of the offence therein contained, and that she had iustly deserued death for that and many other such like : whereupon she was carried away, vntill she should come to the Barre to receiue her judgement of death.

Oh, who was present at this lamentable spectacle, that was not moued with pitie to behold it *!*

Hereupon my Lord *Gerard*, Sir *Richard Houghton*, and others, who much pitied the poore Pedler, At the entreatie of my Lord *Bromley* the Iudge, promised some present course should be taken for his reliefe and maintenance ; being now discharged and sent away.

But here I may not let her passe ; for that I find some thing more vpon Record to charge her withall : for although she were but a young Witch, of a yeares standing, and thereunto induced by *Dembdike* her Grandmother, as you haue formerly heard, yet she was spotted with innocent bloud among the rest : for in one part of the Examination of *Iames Deuice*, her brother, he deposeth as followeth, *viz.*

The Examination of IAMES DEVICE, *brother to the said* ALIZON DEVICE: *Taken vpon Oath*

Before

ROGER NOVVEL *Esquire, aforesaid, the thirtieth day of March,* 1612.

IAmes *Deuice*, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, Labourer, sworne and examined, sayth, That about Saint *Peters* day last one *Henry Bulcock* came to the house of *Elizabeth Sothernes*, alias *Dembdike*, Grand-mother to this Examinate, and said, That the said *Alizon Deuice* had bewitched a Child of his, and desired her, that shee would goe with him to his house: which accordingly shee did: and thereupon shee the said *Alizon* fell downe on her knees, and asked the said *Bulcock* forgiuenesse; and confessed to him, that she had bewitched the said Child, as this Examinate heard his said sister confesse vnto him this Examinate.

And although shee were neuer indicted for this offence, yet being matter vpon Record, I thought it conuenient to joyne it vnto her former Fact.

HEre the Iurie of Life and Death hauing spent the most part of the day in due consideration of their offences, returned into the Court to deliuer vp their Verdict against them, as followeth.

The

The Verdict of Life and Death.

WHo vpon their Oathes found *Iohn Bulcock* and *Iane Bulcock* his mother, not guiltie of the Felonie by Witch-craft, contained in the Indictment against them.

Alizon Deuice conuicted vpon her owne Confession.

Whereupon Master *Couel* was commaunded by the Court to take away the Prisoners conuicted, and to bring forth *Margaret Pearson*, and *Isabell Robey*, Prisoners in the Castle at Lancaster, to receiue their Triall.

Who were brought to their Arraignement and Trialls, as hereafter followeth, *viz.*

THE ARRAIGNMENT

and Triall of MARGARET PEARSON *of Paddiham, in the Countie of Lancaster, for Witchcraft; the nineteenth of August* 1612. *at the Assises and Generall Gaole-deliuerie, holden at Lancaster,*

Before

Sir EDVVARD BROMLEY *Knight, one of his Maiesties Iustices of Assise at Lancaster.*

Margaret Pearson.

THus farre haue I proceeded in hope your patience will endure the end of this discourse, which craues time, and were better not begunne at all, then not perfected. This *Margaret Pearson* was the wife of *Edward Pearson* of Paddiham, in the Countie of Lancaster; little inferiour in her wicked and malicious course of life to any that hath gone before her: A very dangerous Witch of long continuance, generally suspected and feared in all parts of the Countrie, and of all good people neare her, and not without great cause: For whosoeuer gaue her any iust occasion of offence, shee tormented

mented with great miserie, or cut off their children, goods, or friends.

This wicked and vngodly Witch reuenged her furie vpon goods, so that euery one neare her sustained great losse. I place her in the end of these notorious Witches, by reason her iudgement is of an other Nature, according to her offence; yet had not the fauour and mercie of the Iurie beene more then her desert, you had found her next to old *Dembdike*; for this is the third time shee is come to receiue her Triall; one time for murder by Witch-craft; an other time for bewitching a Neighbour; now for goods.

How long shee hath beene a Witch, the Deuill and shee knowes best.

The Accusations, Depositions, and particular Examinations vpon Record against her are infinite, and were able to fill a large Volume; But since shee is now only to receiue her Triall for this last offence. I shall proceede against her in order, and set forth what matter we haue vpon Record, to charge her withall.

This *Margaret Pearson*, Prisoner in the Castle at Lancaster: Being brought to the Barre before the great Seat of Iustice; was there according to the course and order of the Law Indicted and Arraigned, for that shee had practised, exercised, and vsed her diuellish and wicked Arts, called *Witchcrafts*, *Iuchantments*, *Charmes* and *Sorceries*, and one Horse or Mare of the goods and Chattels of one *Dodgeson* of Padiham, in the Countie of Lancaster, wickedly, maliciously, and voluntarily did kill. *Contra formam Statuti, &c. Et contra Pacem dicti Domini Regis. &c.*

Vpon

Vpon her Arraignement to this Indictment, shee pleaded not guiltie; And for the triall of her life put her selfe vpon God and her Countrie.

So as now the Gentlemen of the Iurie of her offence and death, stand charged with her as with others.

The Euidence against Margaret Pearson, *Prisoner at the Barre.*

The Examination and Euidence of ANNE WHITTLE, *alias* CHATTOX.

Against

MARGARET PEARSON, *Prisoner at the Barre.*

THe said *Anne Chattox* being examined saith, That the wife of one *Pearson* of Paddiham, is a very euill Woman, and confessed to this Examinate, that shee is a Witch, and hath a Spirit which came to her the first time in likenesse of a Man, and clouen footed, and that shee the said *Pearsons* wife hath done very much harme to one *Dodgesons* goods, who came in at a loope-hole into the said *Dodgesons* Stable, and shee and her Spirit together did sit vpon his Horse or Mare, vntill the said Horse or Mare died. And likewise, that shee the said *Pearsons* wife did confesse vnto her this Examinate, that shee bewitched vnto death one *Childers* wife, and her Daughter, and that shee the said *Pearsons* wife is as ill as shee.

The

The Examination of IENNET BOOTH,

of Paddiham, in the Countie of Lancaſter, the ninth day of Auguſt 1612.

Before

NICHOLAS BANNESTER, *Esquire; one of his Maieſties Iuſtices of Peace in the Countie of Lancaſter.*

IEnnet, the wife of *Iames Booth*, of Paddiham, vpon her oath saith, That the Friday next after, the said *Pearsons* wife, was committed to the Gaole at Lancaſter, this Examinate was carding in the said *Pearsons* house, hauing a little child with her, and willed the said *Margerie* to giue her a little Milke, to make her said child a little meat, who fetcht this Examinate some, and put it in a pan; this examinat meaning to set it on the fire, found the said fire very ill, and taking vp a ſtick that lay by her, and brake it in three or foure peeces, and laid vpon the coales to kindle the same, then set the pan and milke on the fire: and when the milke was boild to this Examinates content, she tooke the pan wherein the milke was, off the said fire, and with all, vnder the bottome of the same, there came a Toade, or a thing very like a Toade, and to this Examinates thinking came out of the fire, together with the said Pan, and vnder the bottome of the same, and that the said *Margerie* did carrie the said Toade out of the said house in a paire of tonges; But what shee the said *Margerie* did therewith, this Examinate knoweth not.

After this were diuers witnesses examined againſt her in open Court, *viua voce*, to proue the death of the Mare,

and diuers other vild and odious practises by her committed, who vpon their Examinations made it so apparant to the Iurie as there was no question; But because the fact is of no great importance, in respect her life is not in question by this Indictment, and the Depositions and examinations are many, I leaue to trouble you with any more of them, for being found guiltie of this offence, the penaltie of the Law is as much as her good Neighbours doe require, which is to be deliuered from the companie of such a dangerous, wicked, and malicious Witch.

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The

THE ARRAIGNMENT

and Triall of ISABEL ROBEY

in the Countie of Lancaſter, for Witch-craft: vpon Wednesday the nineteenth of Auguſt, 1612. *At the Aſſizes and generall Gaole-deliuery, holden at Lancaſter.*

Before

Sir EDVVARD BROMLEY, *Knight, one of his Maieſties Iuſtices of Aſſizes at Lancaſter.*

Isabel Robey.

THus at one time may you behold Witches of all ſorts from many places in this Countie of Lancaſter which now may lawfully bee ſaid to abound asmuch in Witches of diuers kindes as Seminaries, Ieſuites, and Papiſts. Here then is the laſt that came to act her part in this lamentable and wofull Tragedie, wherein his Maieſtie hath loſt ſo many Subjects, Mothers their Children, Fathers their Friends, and Kinsfolkes the like whereof hath not beene ſet forth in any age. What hath the Kings Maieſtie written and publiſhed in his *Dæmonologie*, by way of premonition and preuention, which hath not here by the firſt or laſt

beene executed, put in practise or discouered? What Witches haue euer vpon their Arraignement and Trial made such open liberall and voluntarie declarations of their liues, and such confessions of their offences: The manner of their attempts and their bloudie practises, their meetings, consultations and what not? Therefore I shall now conclude with this *Isabel Robey* who is now come to her triall.

This *Isabel Robey* Prisoner in the Castle at Lancaster being brought to the Barre before the great Seat of Iustice was there according to the former order and course Indicted and Arraigned, for that shee Felloniously had practised, exercised and vsed her Deuilish and wicked Artes called *Witchcrafts*, *Inchantmnnts*, *Charmes and Sorceries*.

Vpon her Arraignment to this Indictment she pleaded not guiltie, and for the triall of her life, put her selfe vpon God and her Countrie.

So as now the Gentlemen of the Iurie of life and death stand charged with her as with others.

The Euidence against Isabel Robey
Prisoner at the Barre.

The

The Examination of PETER CHADDOCK *of Windle, in the Countie of Lancaſter: Taken at Windle aforesaid, the* 12. *day of Iuly* 1612. Anno Reg. Regis IACOBI, Angliæ, &c. decimo, & Scotiæ xlv.

Before

Sir THOMAS GERRARD *Knight, and Barronet. One of his Maieſties Iuſtices of the Peace within the ſaid Countie.*

THe ſaid Examinate vpon his Oath ſaith, That before his Marriage hee heard ſay that the ſaid *Isabel Robey* was not pleaſed that hee ſhould marrie his now wife: whereupon this Examinate called the ſaid *Isabel* Witch, and ſaid that hee did not care for her. Then within two dayes next after this Examinate was ſore pained in his bones: And this Examinate hauing occaſion to meete Maſter *Iohn Hawarden* at Peaſeley Croſſe, wiſhed one *Thomas Lyon* to goe thither with him, which they both did ſo; but as they came home-wards, they both were in euill caſe. But within a ſhort time after, this Examinate and the ſaid *Thomas Lyon* were both very well amended.

And this Examinate further ſaith, that about foure yeares laſt paſt, his now wife was angrie with the ſaid *Isabel*, ſhee then being in his houſe, and his ſaid Wife thereupon went out of the houſe, and preſently after that the ſaid *Isabel* went likewiſe out of the houſe not well pleaſed, as this Examinate then did thinke, and preſently after vpon the ſame day, this Examinate with his ſaid wife working in the Hay, a paine and a ſtarkneſſe fell into the necke of this Examinat which grieued him very

sore; wherupo this Examinat sent to one *Iames* a Glouer, which then dwelt in Windle, and desired him to pray for him, and within foure or fiue dayes next after this Examinate did mend very well. Neuerthelesse this Examinate during the same time was very sore pained, and so thirſtie withall, and hot within his body, that hee would haue giuen any thing hee had, to haue slaked his thirſt, hauing drinke enough in the house, and yet could not drinke vntill the time that the said *Iames* the Glouer came to him, and this Examinate then said before the said Glouer, I would to God that I could drinke, where upon the said Glouer said to this Examinate, take that drinke, and in the name of the *Father*, the *Sonne*, and the *Holy Ghoſt*, drinke it, saying; The Deuill and Witches are not able to preuaile againſt GOD and his Word, whereupon this Examinate then tooke the glasse of drinke, and did drinke it all, and afterwards mended very well, and so did continue in good health, vntill our Ladie day in Lent was twelue moneth or thereabouts, since which time this Examinate saith, that hee hath beene sore pained with great warch in his bones, and all his limmes, and so yet continueth, and this Examinate further saith, that his said warch and paine came to him rather by meanes of the said *Isabel Robey*, then otherwise, as he verily thinketh.

The

The Examination of IANE WILKINSON, *Wife of* FRANCIS WILKINSON, *of Windle aforesaid: Taken before the said Sir* THOMAS GERRARD, *Knight and Barronet, the day and place aforesaid. Againſt the said* ISABEL ROBEY.

THe said Examinate vpon her oath saith, that vpon a time the said *Isabel Robey* asked her milke, and shee denied to giue her any: And afterwards shee met the said *Isabel*, whereupon this Examinate waxed afraid of her, and was then presently sick, and so pained that shee could not ſtand, and the next day after this Examinate going to Warrington, was suddenly pinched on her Thigh as shee thought, with foure fingers & a Thumbe twice together, and thereupon was sicke, in so much as shee could not get home but on horse-backe, yet soone after shee did mend.

The Examination of MARGARET LYON *wife of* THOMAS LYON *the yonger, of Windle aforesaid: Taken before the said Sir* THOMAS GERRARD, *Knight and Barronet, the day and place aforesaid. Againſt the said* ISABEL ROBEY.

THe said *Margaret Lyon* vpon her Oath saith, that vpon a time *Isabel Robey* came into her house and said that *Peter Chaddock* should neuer mend vntill he had asked her forgiuenesse; and that shee knew hee would neuer doe: whereupon this Examinate said, how doe you

you know that, for he is a true Christian, and hee would aske all the world forgiuenesse? then the said *Isabel* said, that is all one, for hee will neuer aske me forgiuenesse, therefore hee shall neuer mend; And this Examinate further saith, that shee being in the house of the said *Peter Chaddock*, the wife of the said *Peter*, who is God-Daughter of the said *Isabel*, and hath in times past vsed her companie much, did affirme, that the said *Peter* was now satisfied, that the said *Isabel Robey* was no Witch, by sending to one *Halseworths*, which they call a wise-man, and the wife of the said *Peter* then said, to abide vpon it, I thinke that my Husband will neuer mend vntill hee haue asked her forgiuenesse, choose him whether hee will be angrie or pleased, for this is my opinion: to which he answered, when he did need to aske her forgiuenesse, he would, but hee thought hee did not need, for any thing hee knew: and yet this Examinate further saith, That the said *Peter Chaddock* had very often told her, that he was very afraid that the said *Isabel* had done him much hurt; and that he being fearefull to meete her, he hath turned backe at such time as he did meet her alone, which the said *Isabel* hath since then affirmed to be true, saying, that hee the said *Peter* did turne againe when he met her in the Lane.

The Examination of MARGARET PARRE *wife of* HVGH PARRE *of Windle aforesaid. Taken before the said Sir* THOMAS GERARD *Knight and Baronet, the day and place aforesaid. Againſt the said* ISABEL ROBEY.

THE ſaid Examinate vpon her oath ſaith, that vpon a time, the ſaid *Iſabel Robey* came to her houſe, and this Examinate asked her how *Peter Chaddock* did, And the ſaid *Iſabel* answered ſhee knew not, for ſhee went not to ſee, and then this Examinate asked her how *Iane Wilkinſon* did, for that ſhe had beene lately ſicke and ſuſpected to haue beene bewitched : then the ſaid *Iſabel* ſaid twice together, I haue bewitched her too : and then this Examinate ſaid that ſhee truſted ſhee could bleſſe her ſelfe from all Witches and defied them ; and then the ſaid *Iſabel* ſaid twice together, would you defie me? & afterwards the ſaid *Iſabel* went away not well pleaſed.

Here the Gentlemen of the laſt Iurie of Life and Death hauing taken great paines, the time being farre ſpent, and the number of the Priſoners great, returned into the Court to deliuer vp their Verdict againſt them as followeth. *viz.*

The Verdict of Life and Death.

WHo vpon their Oathes found the ſaid *Iſabel Robey* guiltie of the Fellonie by Witch-craft, con-

tained in the Indictment against her. And *Margaret Pearson* guiltie of the offence by Witch-craft, contained in the Indictment against her.

Whereupon Master *Couell* was commaunded by the Court in the afternoone to bring forth all the Prisoners that stood Conuicted, to receiue their Iudgment of Life and Death.

For his Lordship now intended to proceed to a finall dispatch of the Pleas of the Crowne. And heere endeth the Arraignement and Triall of the Witches at Lancaster.

THus at the length haue we brought to perfection this intended Discouery of Witches, with the Arraignement and Triall of euery one of them in order, by the helpe of Almightie God, and this Reuerend Iudge; the Lanterne from whom I haue receiued light to direct me in this course to the end. And as in the beginning, I presented vnto their view a Kalender containing the names of all the witches: So now I shall present vnto you in the conclusion and end, such as stand conuicted, and come to the Barre to receiue the iudgement of the Law for their offences, and the proceedings of the Court against such as were acquitted, and found not guiltie: with the religious Exhortation of this Honorable Iudge, as eminent in gifts and graces as in place and preeminence, which I may lawfully affirme without base flattery (the canker of all honest and worthie minds) drew the eyes and reuerend respect of all that great Audience present, to heare their Iudgement, and the end of these proceedings.

The

The Prisoners being brought to the Barre.

THe Court commanded three solemne Proclamations for silence, vntill Iudgement for Life and Death were giuen.

Whereupon I presented to his Lordship the names of the Prisoners in order, which were now to receiue their Iudgement.

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¶ The names of the Prisoners at the *Barre to receiue their Judgement* of Life and Death.

Anne Whittle, alias
Chattox.

Elizabeth Deuice.

James Deuice.

Anne Redferne.

Alice Nutter.

Katherine Hewet.

John Bulcock.

Jane Bulcock.

Alizon Deuice.

Isabel Robey.

THE

THE IVDGEMENT

OF THE RIGHT HONORABLE Sir EDVVARD BROMLEY, Knight, one *of his Maieſties Iuſtices of Aſsize at Lancaſter vpon the Witches conuicted,* as followeth.

THere is no man aliue more vnwilling to pronounce this wofull and heauy Iudgement againſt you, then my ſelfe: and if it were poſſible, I would to God this cup might paſſe from me. But ſince it is otherwiſe prouided, that after all proceedings of the Law, there muſt be a Iudgement; and the Execution of that Iudgement muſt ſucceed and follow in due time: I pray you haue patience to receiue that which the Law doth lay vpon you. You of all people haue the leaſt cauſe to complaine: ſince in the Triall of your liues there hath beene great care and paines taken, and much time ſpent: and very few or none of you, but ſtand conuicted vpon your owne voluntarie confeſſions and Examinations, Ex ore proprio: *Few Witneſſes examined againſt you, but ſuch as were preſent, and parties in your Aſſemblies. Nay I may further affirme, What perſons of your nature and condition, euer were Arraigned and Tried with more ſolemnitie, had more libertie giuen to pleade or anſwere to euerie particular point of Euidence againſt you? In concluſion ſuch hath beene the*

generall care of all, that had to deale with you, that you haue neither cause to be offended in the proceedings of the Iuſtices, that firſt tooke paines in these businesses, nor with the Court that hath had great care to giue nothing in euidence againſt you, but matter of fact; Sufficient matter vpon Record, and not to induce or leade the Iurie to finde any one of you guiltie vpon mâtter of ſuſpition or presumption, nor with the witnesses who haue beene tried, as it were in the fire: Nay, you cannot denie but muſt confesse what extraordinarie meanes hath beene vsed to make triall of their euidence, and to discouer the leaſt intended practice in any one of them, to touch your liues vniuſtly.

As you ſtand simply (your offences and bloudie practises not considered) your fall would rather moue compassion, then exaſperate any man. For whom would not the ruine of so many poore creatures at one time, touch, as in apparance simple, and of little vnderſtanding?

But the bloud of those innocent children, and others his Maieſties Subiects, whom cruelly and barbarously you haue murdered, and cut off, with all the reſt of your offences, hath cryed out vnto the Lord againſt you, and ſollicited for satisfaction and reuenge, and that hath brought this heauie iudgement vpon you at this time.

It is therefore now time no longer wilfully to ſtriue, both againſt the prouidence of God, and the Iuſtice of the Land: the more you labour to acquit your ſelues, the more euident and apparant you make your offences to the World. And vnpossible it is that they ſhall either prosper or continue in this World, or receiue reward in the next, that are ſtained with so much innocent bloud.

The worſt then I wish to you, ſtanding at the Barre conuicted, to receiue your Iudgement, is, Remorse, and true Repentance,

pentance, for the ſafegard of your Soules, and after, an humble, penitent, and heartie acknowledgement of your grieuous ſinnes and offences committed both againſt GOD *and Man.*

Firſt, yeeld humble and heartie thankes to Almightie GOD *for taking hold of you in your beginning, and making ſtay of your intended bloudie practiſes (although* GOD *knowes there is too much done alreadie) which would in time haue caſt ſo great a weight of Iudgement vpon your Soules.*

Then praiſe GOD *that it pleaſed him not to ſurprize or ſtrike you ſuddenly, euen in the execution of your bloudie Murthers, and in the middeſt of your wicked practiſes, but hath giuen you time, and takes you away by a iudiciall courſe and triall of the Law.*

Laſt of all, craue pardon of the World, and eſpecially of all ſuch as you haue iuſtly offended, either by tormenting themſelues, children, or friends, murder of their kinſfolks, or loſſe of any their goods.

And for leauing to future times the preſident of ſo many barbarous and bloudie murders, with ſuch meetings, practiſes, conſultations, and meanes to execute reuenge, being the greateſt part of your comfort in all your actions, which may inſtruct others to hold the like courſe, or fall in the like ſort:

It only remaines I pronounce the Iudgement of the Court againſt you by the Kings authoritie, which is; You ſhall all goe from hence to the Caſtle, from whence you came; from thence you ſhall bee carried to the place of Execution for this Countie: where your bodies ſhall bee hanged vntill you be dead; And GOD HAVE MERCIE VPON YOVR SOVLES: For your comfort in this world I ſhall commend a learned and worthie Preacher

to

to instruct you, and prepare you for an other World: All I can doe for you is to pray for your Repentance in this World, for the satisfaction of many; And forgiuenesse in the next world, for sauing of your Soules. And God graunt you may make good vse of the time you haue in this World, to his glorie and your owne comfort.

Margaret Pearson.

THe Iudgement of the Court against you, is, You shall stand vpon the Pillarie in open Market, at *Clitheroe*, *Paddiham*, *Whalley*, and *Lancaster*, foure Market dayes, with a Paper vpon your head, in great Letters, declaring your offence, and there you shall confesse your offence, and after to remaine in Prison for one yeare without Baile, and after to be bound with good Suerties, to be of the good behauiour.

To

To the Priſoners found not guiltie by the IVRIES.

Elizabeth Aſtley.
John Ramsden.
Alice Gray.
Isabel Sidegraues.
Lawrence Hay.

TO you that are found not guiltie, and are by the Law to bee acquited, preſume no further of your Innocencie then you haue iuſt cauſe: for although it pleased God out of his Mercie, to ſpare you at this time, yet without queſtion there are amongſt you, that are as deepe in this Action, as any of them that are condemned to die for their offences: The time is now for you to forſake the Deuill: Remember how, and in what ſort hee hath dealt with all of you: make good vſe of this great mercie and fauour: and pray vnto God you fall not againe: For great is your happineſſe to haue time in this World, to prepare your ſelues againſt the day when you ſhall appeare before the Great Iudge of all.

Notwithſtanding, the iudgement of the Court, is, You shall all enter Recognizances with good ſufficient Sueties, to appeare at the next Aſſizes at Lancaſter, and in the meane time to be of the good behauiour. All I can say to you:

Jennet Bierley,
Ellen Bierley,
Jane Southworth, is, That GOD hath deliuered you beyond expectation, I pray GOD you may vse this mercie and fauour well; and take heed you fall not hereafter: And so the Court doth order you shall be deliuered.

What more can bee written or published of the proceedings of this honorable Court: but to conclude with the Execution of the Witches, who were executed the next day following at the common place of Execution, neare vnto Lancaster. Yet in the end giue mee leaue to intreate some fauour that haue beene afraid to speake vntill my worke were finished. If I haue omitted any thing materiall, or published any thing imperfect, excuse me for that I haue done: It was a worke imposed vpon me by the Iudges, in respect I was so wel instructed in euery particular. In hast I haue vndertaken to finish it in a busie Tearme amongst my other imploiments.

My charge was to publish the proceedings of Iustice, and matter of Fact, wherein I wanted libertie to write what I would, and am limited to set forth nothing against them, but matter vpon Record, euen in their owne Countrie tearmes, which may seeme strange. And this I hope will giue good satisfaction to such as vnderstand how to iudge of a businesse of this nature. Such as haue no other imploiment but to question other mens Actions, I leaue them to censure what they please, It is no part of my profession to publish any thing in print

print, neither can I paint in extraordinarie tearmes. But if this discouerie may serue for your instruction, I shall thinke my selfe very happie in this Seruice, and so leaue it to your generall censure.

Da veniam Ignoto non displicuisse meretur,
Feſtinat ſtudijs qui placuisse tibi.

THE ARRAIGNEMENT AND TRIALL OF

IENNET PRESTON, OF GISBORNE IN CRAVEN,

in the Countie of Yorke.

At the Assises and Generall Gaole-*Deliuerie holden at the Castle of Yorke* in the Countie of Yorke, the xxvij. day of Iuly last past, *Anno Regni Regis* IACOBI *Angliæ, &c. Decimo, & Scotiæ quadragesimo quinto.*

Before

Sir IAMES ALTHAM *Knight, one* of the Barons of his Maiesties Court of Exchequer; and Sir EDVVARD BROMLEY Knight, another of *the Barons of his Maiesties Court of Exchequer*; his Maiesties Iustices of Assise, Oyer and Terminer, *and generall Gaole-Deliuerie, in the Circuit of the North-parts.*

LONDON,
Printed by W. STANSBY for IOHN BARNES, and are to be sold at his Shoppe neere Holborne Conduit. 1612.



THE ARRAIGNMENT

and Triall of IENNET PRESTON *of Gisborne in Crauen, in the Countie of Yorke, at the Assises and Generall Gaole-deliuerie, holden at the Castle of Yorke, in the Countie of Yorke, the seuen and twentieth day of Iuly last past.* Anno Regni Regis Iacobi Angliæ &c. Decimo & Scotiæ xlvj.

Jennet Preston.

MANY haue vndertaken to write great discourses of Witches and many more dispute and speake of them. And it were not much if as many wrote of them as could write at al, to set forth to the world the particular Rites and Secrets of their vnlawfull Artes, with their infinite and wonderfull practises which many men little feare till they seaze vpon them. As by this late wonderfull discouerie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster may appeare, wherein I find such apparant matter to satisfie the World, how dangerous and malitious a Witch

Witch this *Iennet Preſton* was, How vnfit to liue, hauing once so great mercie extended to her: And againe to reuiue her practises, and returne to her former course of life; that I thinke it necessarie not to let the memorie of her life and death die with her; But to place her next to her fellowes and to set forth the Arraignement Triall and Conuiction of her, with her offences for which she was condemned and executed.

And although shee died for her offence before the reſt, I yet can afford her no better place then in the end of this Booke in respect the proceedings was in another Countie;

You that were husband to this *Iennet Preſton*; her friends and kinsfolkes, who haue not beene sparing to deuise so scandalous a slander out of the malice of your hearts, as that shee was maliciously prosecuted by Maſter *Liſter* and others; Her life vniuſtly taken away by practise; and that (euen at the Gallowes where shee died impenitent and void of all feare or grace) she died an Innocent woman, because she would confesse nothing: You I say may not hold it ſtrange, though at this time, being not only moued in conscience, but directed, for example sake, with that which I haue to report of her, I suffer you not to wander any further; but with this short discourse oppose your idle conceipts able to seduce others: And by Charmes of Imputations and slander, laid vpon the Iuſtice of the Land, to cleare her that was iuſtly condemned and executed for her offence; That this *Iennet Preſton* was for many yeares well thought of and eſteemed by Maſter *Liſter* who afterwardes died for it Had free accesse to his house, kind respect and entertainment; nothing denied her she

ſtood

ſtood in need of. Which of you that dwelleth neare them in Crauen but can and will witnesse it? which might haue incouraged a Woman of any good condition to haue runne a better course.

The fauour and goodnesse of this Gentleman Maſter *Liſter* now liuing, at his firſt entrance after the death of his Father extended towards her, and the reliefe she had at all times, with many other fauours that succeeded from time to time, are so palpable and euident to all men as no man can denie them. These were sufficient motiues to haue perswaded her from the murder of so good a friend.

But such was her execrable Ingratitude, as euen this grace and goodnesse was the cause of his miserable and vntimely death. And euen in the beginning of his greateſt fauours extended to her, began shee to worke this mischiefe, according to the course of all Witches.

This *Iennet Preſton*, whose Arraignment and Triall, with the particular Euidence againſt her I am now to set forth vnto you, one that liued at Gisborne in Crauen, in the Countie of Yorke, neare Maſter *Liſter* of Weſtbie, againſt whom she practised much mischiefe; for hauing cut off *Thomas Liſter* Esquire, father to this gentleman now liuing, shee reuenged her selfe vpon his sonne: who in short time receiued great losse in his goods and cattell by her meanes.

These things in time did beget suspition, and at the Assizes and Generall Gaole deliuerie holden at the Caſtle of Yorke in Lent laſt paſt, before my Lord *Bromley*, shee was Indicted and Arraigned for the murder of a Child of one *Dodg-sonnes*, but by the fauour and mercifull consideration of the Iurie thereof acquited.

But this fauour and mercie was no sooner extended towardes her, and shee set at libertie, But shee began to practise the vtter ruine and ouerthrow of the name and bloud of this Gentleman.

And the better to execute her mischiefe and wicked intent, within foure dayes after her deliuerance out of the Castle at Yorke, went to the great Assembly of Witches at *Malking-Tower* vpon Good-friday last: to pray aide and helpe, for the murder of Master *Lister*, in respect he had prosecuted against her at the same Assizes.

Which it pleased God in his mercie to discouer, and in the end, howsoeuer he had blinded her, as he did the King of Ægypt and his Instruments, for the brighter euidence of his own powerfull glory; Yet by a Iudiciall course and triall of the Law, cut her off, and so deliuered his people from the danger of her Deuilish and wicked practises: which you shall heare against her, at her Arraignement and Triall, which I shall now set forth to you in order as it was performed, with the wonderfull signes and tokens of GOD, to satisfie the Iurie to finde her guiltie of this bloudie murther, committed foure yeares since.

In-

Indictment.

THis *Iennet Preſton* being Prisoner in the Caſtle at Yorke, and indicted, for that shee felloniously had practised, vsed, and exercised diuerse wicked and deuillish Arts, called Witchcrafts, Inchauntments, Charmes, and Sorceries, in and vpon one *Thomas Liſter* of Weſtby in Crauen, in the Countie of Yorke Esquire, and by force of the same Witchcraft felloniously the said *Thomas Liſter* had killed, *Contra Pacem &c.* beeing at the Barre, was arraigned.

To this Indictment vpon her Arraignement, shee pleaded not guiltie, and for the Triall of her life put her selfe vpon GOD and her Countrey.

Whereupon my Lord *Altham* commaunded Maſter Sheriffe of the Countie of Yorke, in open Court to returne a Iurie of sufficient Gentlemen of vnderſtanding, to passe betweene our Soueraigne Lord the Kings Majeſtie and her, and others the Prisoners, vpon their liues and deaths; who were afterwards sworne, according to the forme and order of the Court, the prisoner being admitted to her lawfull challenge.

Which being done, and the Prisoner at the Barre to receiue her Tryall, Maſter *Heyber*, one of his Maieſties Iuſtices of Peace in the same County, hauing taken great paines in the proceedings againſt her; and being beſt inſtructed of any man of all the particular points of Euidence againſt her, humbly prayed, the witnesses hereafter following might be examined againſt her, and the seuerall Examinations, taken before Maſter *Nowel*, and certified, might openly bee published againſt her; which hereafter follow in order, *viz.*

The Euidence for the Kings Maiestie

Against

IENNET PRESTON, *Prisoner at the Barre.*

HEreupon were diuerse Examinations taken and read openly against her, to induce and satisfie the Gentlemen of the Iurie of Life and Death, to finde she was a Witch; and many other circumstances for the death of M. *Lister*. In the end *Anne Robinson* and others were both examined, who vpon their Oathes declared against her, That M. *Lister* lying in great extremitie, vpon his death-bedde, cried out vnto them that stood about him; that *Iennet Preston* was in the house, looke where shee is, take hold of her: for Gods sake shut the doores, and take her, shee cannot escape away. Looke about for her, and lay hold on her, for shee is in the house: and so cryed very often in his great paines, to them that came to visit him during his sicknesse.

Anne Robinson,

and

Thomas Lister

Being examined further, they both gaue this in euidence against her, That when Master *Lister* lay vpon his death-bedde, hee cryed out in great extremitie; *Iennet Preston* lyes heauie vpon me, *Prestons* wife lyes heauie vpon me; helpe me, helpe me: and so departed, crying out against her.

These

These, with many other witnesses, were further examined, and deposed, That *Iennet Preſton*, the Prisoner at the Barre, being brought to M. *Liſter* after hee was dead, & layd out to be wound vp in his winding-sheet, the said *Iennet Preſton* comming to touch the dead corpes, they bled fresh bloud presently, in the presence of all that were there present: Which hath euer beene held a great argument to induce a Iurie to hold him guiltie that shall be accused of Murther, and hath seldome, or neuer, fayled in the Tryall.

But these were not alone: for this wicked and bloudthirſtie Witch was no sooner deliuered at the Assises holden at Yorke in Lent laſt paſt, being indicted, arraigned, and by the fauor and mercie of the Iurie found not guiltie, for the murther of a Child by Witch-craft: but vpon the Friday following, beeing Good-Friday, shee rode in haſt to the great meeting at Malking-Tower, and there prayed aide for the murther of M. *Thomas Liſter:* as at large shall appeare, by the seuerall Examinations hereafter following; sent to these Assises from Maſter *Nowel* and other his Majeſties Iuſtices of Peace in the Countie of Lancaſter, to be giuen in euidence againſt her, vpon her Triall, *viz.*

The Examination and Euidence of IAMES DEVICE, *of the Forreſt of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaſter, Labourer, taken at the house of* IAMES WILSEY, *of the Forreſt of Pendle in the Countie of Lancaſter, the ſeuen and twentieth day of Aprill*, Anno Reg. Regis IACOBI Angliæ, &c. Decimo ac Scotiæ quadragesimo quinto.

Before

ROGER NOVVEL, *and* NICHOLAS BANESTER, *Esquires, two of his Maieſties Iuſtices of the Peace within the Countie of Lancaſter*, viz.

THis Examinate saith, That vpon Good-Friday laſt about twelue of the clocke in the day-time, there dined in this Examinates said mothers house a number of persons, whereof three were men, with this Examinate, and the reſt women: and that they met there for these three causes following (as this Examinates said mother told this Examinate): Firſt was for the naming of the Spirit, which *Alizon Deuice*, now Prisoner at Lancaſter, had, but did not name him, because shee was not there. The second cause was for the deliuery of his said Grand-mother, this Examinates said ſiſter *Alizon*, the said *Anne Chattox*, and her daughter *Redferne*: Killing the Gaoler at Lancaſter; and before the next Assizes to blow vp the Caſtle there; to that end the aforesaid Prisoners might by that meanes make an escape and get away. All which this Examinate then heard them conferre of. And the third cause was, for that there was a woman dwelling in Gisburne Parish, who came into this Examinates said Grand-mothers house,

house, who there came, and craued assistance of the rest of them that were then there, for the killing of Master *Lister* of Westby : because, as she then said, he had borne malice vnto her, and had thought to haue put her away at the last Assizes at Yorke ; but could not. And then this Examinat heard the said woman say, that her power was not strong enough to doe it her selfe, being now lesse then before-time it had beene.

And he also further saith, That the said *Prestons* wife had a Spirit with her like vnto a white Foale, with a blacke-spot in the forehead. And further, this Examinat saith, That since the said meeting, as aforesaid, this Examinate hath beene brought to the wife of one *Preston* in Gisburne Parish aforesaid, by *Henry Hargreiues* of Goldshey, to see whether shee was the woman that came amongst the said Witches, on the said last Good-Friday, to craue their aide and assistance for the killing of the said Master *Lister* : and hauing had full view of her ; hee this Examinate confesseth, That she was the selfe-same woman which came amongst the said Witches on the said last Good-Friday, for their aide for the killing of the said Master *Lister* ; and that brought the Spirit with her, in the shape of a White Foale, as aforesaid.

And this Examinate further saith, That all the said Witches went out of the said house in their owne shapes and likenesses, and they all, by that they were forth of the doores, were gotten on horse-backe like vnto Foales, some of one colour, some of another, and *Prestons* wife was the last ; and when she got on horse-backe, they all presently vanished out of this Examinats sight : and before their said parting away, they all appointed to meete at the said *Prestons* wifes house that day

day twelue-month; at which time the said *Prestons* wife promised to make them a great feast; and if they had occasion to meet in the meane time, then should warning bee giuen that they all should meete vpon Romles-Moore. And this Examinate further saith, That at the said feast at Malking-Tower, this Examinat heard them all giue their consents to put the said Master *Thomas Lister* of Westby to death: and after Master *Lister* should be made away by Witchcraft, then al the said Witches gaue their consents to ioyne altogether to hancke Master *Leonard Lister*, when he should come to dwell at the Sowgill, and so put him to death.

The Examination of HENRIE HARGREIVES *of Goldshey-booth, in the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster Yeoman, taken the fifth day of May*, Anno Reg. Regis IACOBI Angliæ, &c. Decimo, ac Scociæ quadragesimo quinto.

Before

ROGER NOVVEL, NICHOLAS BANNESTER, *and* ROBERT HOLDEN, *Esquires; three of his Maiesties Iustices of Peace within the said Countie.*

THis Examinat vpon his oath saith, That *Anne Whittle*, alias *Chattox*, confessed vnto him, that she knoweth one *Prestons* wife neere Gisburne, and that the said *Prestons* wife should haue beene at the said feast, vpon the said Good-Friday, and that shee was an ill woman, and had done Master *Lister* of Westby great hurt.

The

The Examination of ELIZABETH DEVICE, *mother of* IAMES DEVICE, *taken before* ROGER NOVVEL *and* NICHOLAS BANESTER, *Esquires, the day and yeare aforesaid*, viz.

THe said *Elizabeth Deuice* vpon her Examination confesseth, That vpon Good-Friday last, there dined at this Examinats house, which she hath said are Witches, and doth verily thinke them to be Witches; and their names are those whom *Iames Deuice* hath formerly spoken of to be there.

She also confesseth in all things touching the killing of Master *Lister* of Westby, as the said *Iames Deuice* hath before confessed.

And the said *Elizabeth Deuice* also further saith, That at the said meeting at Malking-Tower, as aforesaid, the said *Katherine Hewyt* and *Iohn Bulcock*, with all the rest then there, gaue their consents, with the said *Prestons* wife, for the killing of the said Master *Lister*. And for the killing of the said Master *Leonard Lister*, she this Examinate saith in all things, as the said *Iames Deuice* hath before confessed in his Examination.

The Examination of IENNET DEVICE, *daughter of* ELIZABETH *late wife of* IOHN DEVICE, *of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, about the age of nine yeares or thereabouts, taken the day and yeare aboue-said:*

Before

ROGER NOVVEL *and* NICHOLAS BANESTER, *Esquires, two of his Maesties Iustices of Peace in the Countie of Lancaster.*

THE said Examinate vpon her Examination saith, that vpon Good-friday last there was about twenty persons, whereof only two were men, to this Examinats remembrance, at her said Grand-mothers house, called Malking-Tower aforesaid, about twelue of the clocke: all which persons, this Examinates said mother told her were Witches, and that she knoweth the names of diuers of the said Witches.

After

AFter all these Examinations, Confessions, and Euidence, deliuered in open Court against her, His Lordship commanded the Iurie to obserue the particular circumstances; first, Master *Lister* in his great extremitie, to complaine hee saw her, and requested them that were by him to lay hold on her.

After he cried out shee lay heauie vpon him, euen at the time of his death.

But the Conclusion is of more consequence then all the rest, that *Iennet Preston* being brought to the dead corps, they bled freshly, And after her deliuerance in Lent, it is proued shee rode vpon a white Foale, and was present in the great assembly at *Malkin Tower* with the Witches, to intreat and pray for aide of them, to kill Master *Lister*, now liuing, for that he had prosequuted against her.

And against these people you may not expect such direct euidence, since all their workes are the workes of darkenesse, no witnesses are present to accuse them, therefore I pray God direct your consciences.

After the Gentlemen of the Iurie of Life and Death had spent the most part of the day, in consideration of the euidence against her, they returned into the Court and deliuered vp their Verdict of Life and Death.

***

The Verdict of Life and Death.

WHo found *Iennet Preſton* guiltie of the fellonie and murder by Witch-craft of *Thomas Liſter*, Esquire; conteyned in the Indictment againſt her, &c.

Afterwards, according to the course and order of the Lawes, his Lordship pronounced Iudgement againſt her to bee hanged for her offence. And so the Court arose.

HEre was the wonderfull discouerie of this *Iennet Preſton*, who for so many yeares had liued at Gisborne in Crauen, neare Maſter *Liſter*: one thing more I shall adde to all these particular Examinations, and euidence of witnesses, which I saw, and was present in the Court at Lancaſter, when it was done at the Assizes holden in Auguſt following.

My Lord *Bromley* being very suspicious of the accusation of *Iennet Deuice*, the little Wench, commanded her to looke vpon the Prisoners that were present, and declare which of them were present at *Malkin-Tower*, at the great assembly of Witches vpon Good-Friday laſt: shee looked vpon and tooke many by the handes, and accused them to be there, and when shee had accused all that were there present, shee told his Lordship there was a Woman that came out of Crauen that was amongſt

amongſt the Witches at that Feaſt, but ſhee ſaw her not amongſt the Priſoners at the Barre.

What a ſingular note was this of a Child, amongſt many to misse her, that before that time was hanged for her offence, which ſhee would neuer confesse or declare at her death? here was present old *Preſton* her husband, who then cried out and went away: being fully satisfied his wife had Iuſtice, and was worthie of death.

To conclude then this present discourse, I heartilie desire you, my louing Friends and Countrie-men, for whose particular inſtructions this is added to the former of the wonderfull discouerie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaſter: And for whose particular satisfaction this is published; Awake in time, and suffer not your selues to be thus assaulted.

Consider how barbarously this Gentleman hath been dealt withall; and especially you that hereafter shall passe vpon any Iuries of Life and Death, let not your conniuence, or rather foolish pittie, spare such as these, to exequute farther mischiefe.

Remember that shee was no sooner set at libertie, but shee plotted the ruine and ouerthrow of this Gentleman, and his whole Familie.

Expect not, as this reuerend and learned Iudge saith, such apparent proofe againſt them, as againſt others, since all their workes, are the workes of darkenesse: and vnlesse it please Almightie God to raise witnesses to accuse them, who is able to condemne them?

Forget not the bloud that cries out vnto God for reuenge, bring it not vpon your owne heads.

Neither doe I vrge this any farther, then with this, that I would alwaies intreat you to remember, that it is

as

as great a crime (as *Salomon* sayth, *Prov.* 17) to condemne the innocent, as to let the guiltie escape free.

Looke not vpon things strangely alledged, but iudiciously consider what is justly proued against them.

And that as well all you that were witnesses, present at the Arraignement and Triall of her, as all other strangers, to whome this Discourse shall come, may take example by this Gentleman to prosecute these hellish Furies to their end: labor to root them out of the Commonwealth, for the common good of your Countrey. The greatest mercie extended to them, is soone forgotten.

GOD graunt vs the long and prosperous continuance of these Honorable and Reuerend Iudges, vnder whose Gouernment we liue in these North parts: for we may say, that GOD Almightie hath singled them out, and set them on his Seat, for the defence of Iustice.

And for this great deliuerance, let vs all pray to GOD Almightie, that the memorie of these worthie Iudges may bee blessed to all Posterities.

FINIS.